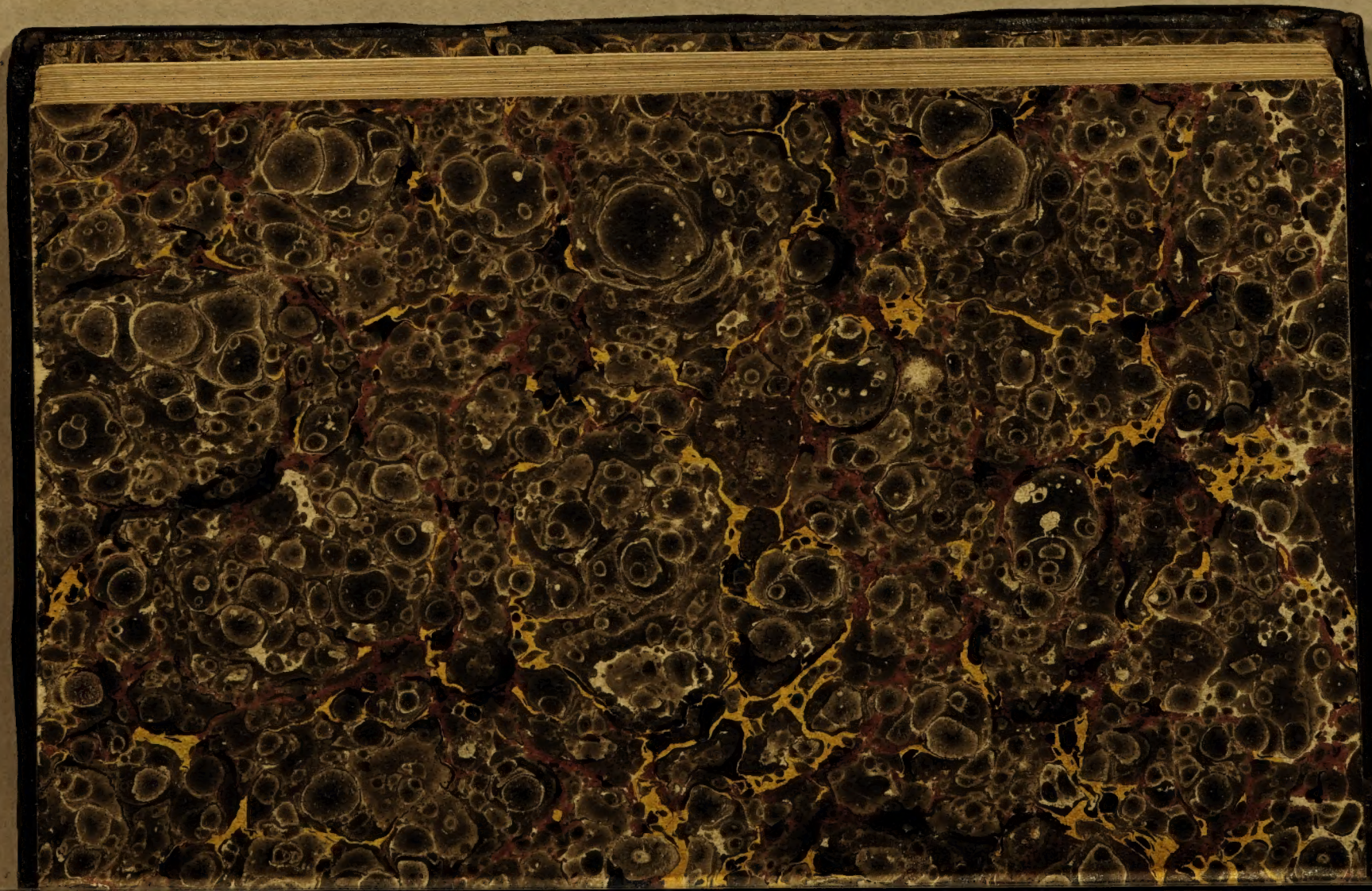
John Carter Brown.



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Moves
Utopia

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1556

A frutefull

pleasaunt, & wittie worke, of the beste state of a publique weale, and of the newe yle, called Utopia: written in Latine, by the right worthie and famous Syr Thomas More knyght, and translated into Englishe by Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and nowe by him at this seconde edition newlie perused and corrected, and also with diuers notes in the margent augmented.

Imprinted at London, by Abraham Vele, dwellinge in Pauls churchyarde, at the signe of the Lambe.

1556.

¶ The translator to the gentle reader.

You shalte vnderstande gētle reader that thoughe this worke of Utopia in English, come now the seconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it neuer my minde nor intente, that it shoulde euer haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke vpō me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne priuate vse, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it secrete to hym self alone. Whō though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, & also skilful, yet was I certē, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to iudge of the fineness or coursenes of my translation. Wherfore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde frendes iudgemente, then myne owne. To the meanesse of whose learninge I

JOHN CARTER BROWN

thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I ouerran the whole woorke, and in shorte tyme, with more hast, then goods spede, I brought it to an ende. But as the latin prouerbe sayeth: The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For whē this my woorke was finished, the rudenes therof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly against my will. Howbeit not beinge able in this behalfe to resist the pitithie persuasions of my frendes, and perceauing therfore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quū ludas tesseris.
Si illud, quod est maxumè opus, iactu nō cadit:
Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte vt corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a dice playng or a game at the tables: Meaninge therin, if that chaunce rise not, whiche is most for the players aduauntage, that the

then the chaunce, whiche fortune hathe sent, ought so cõuyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier least dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vndersta̅de, that though in any of our actes and doynges, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretensed purpose, so that the successe and our intent proue thinges farre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incõmoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experte gamester & a cõning player, but a verye bungler, yet haue I in this bychaunce, that on my side vnwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaued myself, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more cõningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somwhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke

came not frō me so fine, so perfecte, & so exact ẏ at first, as surely for my smale lerning, it should haue done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I haue now in this secōde editiō takē about it such paines, ẏ verye fewe great faultes & notable errours are in it to be foūde. Now therfore, most gentle reader, the meanesse of this simple translation, & thē faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in iust consideration of the premisses, gentlye & fauourablye winke at them. So doynge thou shalt minister vnto me good cause to thinke my labour and paynes herein not altogethers bestowed in vaine.

VALE.

¶ Thomas More to Peter Giles, sendeth gretynge.

I Am almoste ashamed, righte welbeloued Peter Giles, to send vnto you this boke of ỹ Utopian commen wealth, welnigh after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe. And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough, that I was alreadye disbourdened of all the labour and studye belongynge to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the disposition, or conueiaũce of the matter: and therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearse those thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cause why I shuld studye to set forth the matter w̃ eloquẽce: for asmuch as his talke could not be fine ⁊ eloquẽt, beyng firste not studied for, but suddein ⁊ vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man

better seue in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge And my writynge, the niegher it should approche to his homely plaine, and simple speche, somuche the niegher shuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and study herin. I graunte and confesse, frende Peter, myselfe discharged of so muche labour, hauinge all these thinges ready done to my hande, that almoste there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuention, or the disposition of this matter myghte haue required of a witte neither base, neither at all vnlearned, both some time and leasure, and also some studie. But if it were requisite, and necessarie, that the matter shoulde also haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a surretie that thynge coulde I haue performed by no tyme nor studye. But nowe seynge all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche labour and studye shoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thynge for me to do, but onelye

Trueth loueth simplicitie and playnes.

to write playnelie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thynge lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leaue almost lesse, then no leasure.

The authoures busines & letters.

Whiles I doo dayelie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters: some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an vmpier or a Iudge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one waye to see and visite my frendes: an other waye about myne owne priuat affaires. Whiles I spende almost al the day abrode emonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne; I leaue to my self, I meane to my booke no time for when I am come home, I muste commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my seruauntes. All the whiche thinges I recken and accompte amonge businesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done: and done muste they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his

his owne house. And in anye wyse a man muste so fashyon and order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him selfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hathe prouided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the felowes, and companyons of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behauioure & familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his seruauntes, make them his maysters. Emonge these thynges nowe rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while haue I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great nũber doth waste no lesse tyme, then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man creepeth awaye. I therefore do wynne and get onelye that tyme, whiche I steale from slepe and meate. Whiche tyme because it is very litle, and yet somwhat it is, therfore haue I ones at the laste, thoughe it be longe first, finished Utopia, and haue sent it to you, frende Peter,

Meate & slepe great wasters of time.

ter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thynge haue escaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somwhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest memorye) yet haue I not so great truste and confidence in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my mynde. For John Clement my boye, who as you know was there presente with vs, whome I suffer to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this ponge bladed and new shotte vp corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to spring vp both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne) he I saye hathe broughte me into a greate doubte. For wheras Hythlodaye (oneleste my memorye fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe ouer the riuer of Anyder is fyue hundreth paseis, that is to saye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my John sayeth that two hundred of

John Clement

those

those paleis muste be plucked away, for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboue three hundreth paleis in breadthe. I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse myselfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I haue done, and as myne owne remembraunce serueth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing false, so yf there be anye thynge doubtefull, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycause I had rather be good, then wilie. Howbeit thys matter maye easelye be remedied, yf you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphael him selfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for an other doubte also, that hathe chaunced, throughe whose faulte I cannot tel: whether through mine, or yours, or Raphaels. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tell vs in what part of the newe worlde Vtopia

A diuersitie betwene making a lye, and telling a lie.

In what parte of the worlde Vtopia standeth it is vnknowen.

s situate. The whiche thinge, I had ra-
ther haue spent no small somme of mo-
ney, then that it should thus haue esca-
ped vs: aswell for that I am ashamed to
be ignoraunt in what sea that ylande stā-
deth, wherof I write so long a treatise,
as also because there be with vs certen
men, and especiallie one vertuous and
godly man, and a professour of diuinitie,
who is excedynge desierous to go vnto
Utopia: not for a vayne and curious
desyre to see newes, but to the intente
he maye further and increase oure reli-
gion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye
begonne. And that he maye the better
accomplyshe and perfourme this hys
good intente, he is mynded to procure
that he maye be sente thether by the
nieghe Byshoppe: yea, and that he him-
selfe may be made Bishoppe of Utopia,
beynge nothynge scrupulous herein,
that he muste obteyne this Byshopricke
with suete. For he counteth that a god-
ly suete, which procedeth not of the de-
sire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of
a godlie zeale. Wherfore I moste ear-
nestly

It is thoughte of some that here is vnfai-nedly mene the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey.

A godly suete.

nestly desire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is untrue, neyther any thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shalbe well done, that you shewe unto him the booke it selfe. For yf I haue myssed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte haue escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do, oneles he peruse, and reade ouer my booke wryttē. Moreouer by this meanes shall you perceaue, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I shoulde undertake to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyshe, and put forth his owne labours, and trauayles himselfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in publishynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I shoulde preuent him, & take frome him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his hystorie. Howbeit,

to

to saye the verye treuth, I am not yet fullye determined with my selfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers, the phantasies of some so way warde, their myndes so vnkynde, their iudgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a ioconnde lyfe, followynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, thē they that vexe and vnquiete thēselues with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe and publishynge of some thynge, that maye be either profeit or pleasure to others: whiche others neuertheles will disdainfully, scornefully, & vnkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be vnlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a litle smacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely geare & commen ware, whatsoeuer is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, & that be worne out of vse. Some there be

The vnkynde iudgementes of men.

be that haue pleasure onelye in olde rü
stie antiquities . And some onelie in
their owne deynges. One is so sowre,
so crabbed, and so vnpleasaunte, that h
can awaye with no mirthe nor sporte.
An other is so narrowe betweene ẏ shu
ders, that he can beare no iestes nor tai
tes. Some seli poore soules be so afeard
that at euerye snappishe woorde thei
nose shall be bitten of, that they stand
in no lesse drede of euerye quicke and
sharpe woorde, than he that is bitten o
a madde dogge feareth water. Some
be so mutable and wauerynge, that eue
ry houre they be in a newe mynde, say
inge one thinge sittinge, and an other
thynge standynge. An other sorte sit
teth vpon their allebencheis, and then
amonge 'their' cuppes they geue iudge
ment of the wittes of writers, and with
greate authoritie they condempne euen
as pleaseth them, euerye writer accor
dynge to his writinge, in moste spitefull
maner mockynge, lowtinge, and flow
tinge them: beynge them selues in the
meane season sauffe, and as sayeth the
prouerbe, oute of all daunger of goune
shotts

shotte. For why, they be so smugge & smothe, that they haue not so much as one hearre of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer some so vnkynde, and vngentle, that thoughe they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to afforde him a good woorde: beynge much like vncourteous, vnthankfull, and chourlish gestes. Whiche when they haue with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellyes, departe home, geuyng no thankes to the feaste maker. Go your wayes now, & make a costlye feaste at youre owne charges for gestes so dayntie mouthed, so diuers in taste, and besides that of so vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Pithloday, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, afterwardes to take newe aduisement. Howbeit, seeyng I haue taken great paynes and labour in writyng the matter, if it may stande

A litte Similitude.

with his mynde and pleasure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publishyng of the booke, followe the counsell and aduise of my frendes, and speciallye yours. Thus fare you well right hertely beloued frende Peter, with your gentle wife: and loue me as you haue euer done, for I loue you better then euer I dyd.

Thys bocke belonge the
unto Augustyn hund
oss the fins temx lo oss
London gentylman
bought 20 ss Jan vary
1571 : 1572 : 1571

¶ The first

Booke of the cõmunication of Raphael Hythloday, concernyng the best state of a cõmen welth.

THe moste victorious & triumphant kyng of Englãde Henrye the eyght of that name, in al roial vertues, a Prince moste pereles, hadde of late in controuersie wt Charles, the right highe and mightye kyng of Castell, weighty matters, & of great importaũce. For the debatement & final determinatiõ wherof, the kinges Maiesty sent me Ambassadour into Flaunders, ioyned in cõmission with Cuthbert Tunstall, a man doutlesse out of comparison, and whom the kynges Maiestie of late, to the great reioysynge of all men, dyd preferre to the office of Maister of the Rolles. Cuthbert Tunstall.

But of this mannes prayses I

wyll saye nothyng, not bicause I doo feare that small credence shalbe geuen to the testimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicause his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of more excellency, then that I am able to praise them: and also in all places so famous & so perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to bee praysed, vnlesse I woulde seeme to shew, and setforth the brightnes of the sonne with a candell, as the Prouerbe saieth. There mette vs at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted Cõmissioners: excellent men all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Marcgraue (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wisest & the best spokē of them was George Temsice, prouost of Lassells, a man not only by lernyng, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonynge, and debatyng of matters what by his naturall witte, & what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fellowes.

lowes. After that we had once or twise mette, and vpon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne space tooke their leaue of vs, & departed to Burxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidynge, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd visite me one Peter Giles, a Citizen of Antwerpe, a man there in his coūtrey of honest reputacion, and also preferred to high promocions, worthy truly of the hyghest. For it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honestye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly wel learned, and towardes all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: But towardes his frendes so kynde herted, so louyng, so faithfull, so trustye, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frend-

Peter Gyles.

shippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man vseth lesse simulation or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merye and pleasaunte, yea and that without harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynemente, and his sweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminished the feruente desyre, that I had to see my native countrey, my wyfe and my children, whom then I dyd muche longe and couete to see, because that at that time I had been more then .iiii. Monethes from them. Upon a certayne daye when I hadde herde the diuine seruice in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious Churche of buyldyng in all the Citie, and also most frequented of people, and the seruice beynge doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke

sonne

sonneburned face, a longe beard, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng me, came vnto me, and saluted me. And as I was aboute to answere him: see you this man, sayth he (and therewith he pointed to the man, that I sawe him talkynge with before) I was mynded, quod he, to bryuge him strayghte home to you. He should haue ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake. Nay (quod he) for his owne sake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day liuyng, that can tell you of so many straunge & vnknowen peoples, and Countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of suche newes. Then I coniectured not farre a misse (quod I) for euen at the first syght, I iudged him to be a mariner. Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyued: he hath sailed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte & prudent prince Vlisses: Yea, rather as the auncient and

Raphaell Hythlodaye.

a trifler or fabler

sage Philosopher Plato. For this same Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke lãguage. Wherin he euer bestowed more studye then in the Latine, bycause he had geuen himselfe wholy to the study of Philosophy. Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpose; sauynge a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the .iii. last voyages of those .iiii. that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes, he continued styll in his company, sauyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made suche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune sute, that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were sore against

Americus.

his

s wyll) to be one of the .xviiii. whiche
the ende of the last voyage were left
the countrey of Gulike. He was
erefore lefte behynde for hys mynde
ke, as one that tooke more thoughts
d care for trauailyng, then dyenge:
auyng customably in his mouth these
inynges. He that hathe no graue, is
uered with the skye: and, the way to
eaue out of all places is of like length
d distaunce. Which fantasy of his.
f God had not ben his better frende)
e had surely bought full deare. But
fter the departynge of Mayster Me-
puce, when he had trauailed thorough
nd aboute many Countreyes with .v.
f his companions Gulikianes, at the
ast by meruaylous chaunce he arriued
n Taprobane, from whence he went to
Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde
ertayne of hys Countreye shippes,
wherein he retourned agayne into his
Countreye, nothynge lesse then looked
for. All this when Peter hadde tolde
me: I thanked hem for his gentle kind-
nesse, that he had vouchsafed to bryng
me to the speache of that man, whose

communication : he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I toorned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haplsed eche other: and had spoken these commune woordes, that bee customablye spoken at the first meting, and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine vpon a bench couered with greene toraues, we satte downe talkyng together. There he tolde vs, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellowes that tarted behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wynne the loue and fauoure of the people of that countrey, insomuche that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupyng with them verye familiarly. He tolde vs also, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whose name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes and charges of him and his

ue companions. And beſides that
iue theim a truſtye guyde to conducte
em in their iourney (which by water
as in botes, and by land in wagons)
d to bringe theim to other Princes
ith verye frendlye commendations.
Thus after manye dayes iourneys, he
ipd, they founde townes, and Cities,
d weale publiques, full of people,
ouerned by good and holſome lawes.
For vnder the line equinoctiall, and
n bothe ſydes of the ſame, as farre
s the Sonne doth extende his courſe,
yeth (quod he) great, and wyde deſer-
es and wildernesſes, parched, burned,
nd dryed vp with continuall and in-
ollerable heate. All thynges bee hi-
eous, terrible, lotheſome, and vn-
leaſaunt to beholde: All thynges out
f faſhyon, and comelineſſe, inhabi-
ed withe wylde Beaſtes, and Ser-
entes, or at the leaſte wyſe, with peo-
le, that be no leſſe ſauage, wylde, and
oyſome, then the verye beaſtes theim
elues be. But a litle farther beyonde
that, all thynges beginne by litle and
lytle to ware pleaſaunte. The ayre

Fifth day.

ſofte,

softe, temperate & gentle. The ground
couered with grene grasse. Lesse wild-
nesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye
come agayne to people, cities & townes
wherein is continuall entercourse and
occupying of merchaundise and chaf-
fare, not only among themselues, and
with theire Borderers, but also with
Merchauntes of farre Countreyes,
bothe by lande & water. There I had
occasion (sayd he) to go to many coun-
treyes on euery syde. For there was
no shippe ready to any voyage or iour-
ney, but I and my fellowes were into
it very gladly receyued. The shippes
that thei founde first were made playn,
flatte, & broade in the botome, trough
wise. The sayles were made of great
rushes, or of wickers, & in some places
of lether. Afterwarde thei founde ship-
pes with ridged keyles: and sayles of
canuasse, yea, and shortly after hauyng
all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen
also very experte and cunnynge, bothe
in the sea, and in the wether. But he
saide, that he founde great fauoure and
frendship amonge them, for teachynge

Shippes of
straūge fassiōs

them

ym the feate and vse of the lode stone. The lode stone.
hiche to them before that time was
knowne. And therfore they were
ante to be verye timerous & fearfull
on the sea: Nor to venter vpon it,
t only in the somer time. But nowe
ey haue suche a confidence in that
one, that they feare not stormy win-
r: in so dooynge. farther from care
gen daunger. In so muche, that it is
reatly to be doubted, lest that thyng,
rought their owne folish hardinesse,
all tourne them to ruyll and harme,
hich at the first was supposed should
e to them good and cõmodious. But
hat he tolde vs that he sawe in eue-
ye countreye where he came, it were
ery longe to declare. Neither it is my
urpose at this time to make rehersall
herof. But peraduenture in an other
lace I wyll speake of it, chiefly suche
hynges as shall be profitable too bee
nowen, as in spectall be those decrees
nd ordinaunces, that he marked to be
well and wittely prouided and enacted
monge suche peoples, as do liue toge-
her in a ciuile policye, and good ordre.

For

For of suche thynges dyd wee busely
enquire, and demaunde of him, and h
likewise very willingly tolde vs of th
same. But as for monsters, bycaus
they be no newes, of them we were no
thyng inquisitiue. For nothyng is mor
easye to bee founde, then bee barkyng
Scyllaes, rauenyng Celenes, and Le
strigones deuourers of people, & such
lyke great, and incredible monsters
But to fynde Citisens ruled by goo
and holsome lawes, that is an exceding
rare, and harde thyng. But as he mar
ked many fonde, and folishe lawes i
those newe founde landes, so he re
hersed diuers actes, and constitutions
whereby these oure Cities, Nations
Countreis, and Kyngdomes may tak
example to amende their faultes, enor
mities and errours. Wherof in anothe
place (as I sayde) I wyll intreate.
Now at this time I am determined t
reherse onely that he tolde vs of th
maners, customes, lawes, & ordinaun
ces of the Utopians. But first I wyl
repete oure former communication b
thoccasion, and (as I might saye) th

Lobbeus.

Utopian.

drift

ifte wherof, he was brought into the
ention of that weale publique.
or, when Raphael had very prudent-
e touched diuers thynges, that be as
iffe, some here, and some there, yea,
ery many on bothe partes, and againe
d spoken of suche wise lawes, & pru-
nte decrees, as be established, and
d, bothe here amonge vs, and also
ere amonge theym, as a man so per-
cte, and experte in the lawes, and cu-
omes of euery seuerall Countrey, as
ough into what place soeuer he came
aftwise, there he had ledde al his life:
ben Peter muche meruailynge at the
an: Surely maister Raphael (quod
) I wondre greatly, why you gette
u not into some kinges courte. For
I am sure, there is no Prince liuyng,
hat wold not be very glad of you, as a
ã not only hable highly to delite him
ith your profounde learnyng, & this
our knowlege of cõtreis, & peoples,
ut also mete to instructe him with ex-
mples, and helpe him with counsell.
nd thus doyng, you shall bryng your
elfe in a verye good case, and also

be of habilitie to helpe all your frende
& kinsfolke. As concernyng my frendes
and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe no
greatly for them. For I thinke I hau
sufficiently doone my parte towarde
them already. For these thynges, tha
other men doo not departe from, buty
they be olde and sycke, yea, whyche the
be then verye lothe to leaue, when the
canne no longer keepe, those very sam
thynges dyd I beyng not only lustye
and in good helth, but also in the flour
of my youth, diuide among my frende
and kynsfolkes. Whych I thynke wit
this my liberalitie ought to holde ther
contented, & not to require nor to lok
that beyndes this, I shoulde for ther
sakes geue myselfe in bondage vnt
Kinges. Nay, God forbyd that (quo
Peter) it is notte my mynde that yo
shoulde be in bondage to Kynges, bu
as a retainour to thē at your pleasur
Whiche surely I thinke is the nighe
waye that you can deuise howe to be
stowe your time frutefully, not only
for the priuate cōmoditie of your fren
des, and for the generall profite of al
sorte

sortes of people, but also for thadvaun-cement of your self to a much welthier state, and condition, then you be nowe in. To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyue at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of these great states, and pieces of realmes can saye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendeshippes: and therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor .iii. or .iiii. suche other as I am. Well, I perceiue playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be desirous neither of richesse, nor of power. And truly I haue in no lesse reuerence and estimation a mā of your mynde, then anye of theim all that bee so high in power and authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wisdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte so to appoynt & dispose your selfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, thoughe it be

somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you neuer so wel doe, nor wyth so greate profitte perfourme, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his heade (as I doubte not but you wyl) honeste opinions, and vertuous persuasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel springe, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or euell. But in you is so perfitte lernynge, that withoute anye experience, and agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be any kinges counsellour. You be twyse deceaued maister More (quod he) fyrste in me, & agayne in the thinge it selfe. For neither is in me the habilitye that you force vpon me, and yf it wer neuer so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the moste parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chiualrie (ỹ knowlege whereof I neither haue nor desire) than in the good feates of peace; and employe

muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, that howe wel, and peaceablie to rule, and gouerne that they haue alredie. Moreouer, they that be counsellours to kinges, euery one of them eyther is of himselfe so wise in dede, that he needeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, that he wil not allowe an other mans counsel, sauing that they do shamefully, and flatteringly geue assent to the fond and folishe sayinges of certeyn great mens Whose fauours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentation & flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to esteme their owne inuentions best. So both the Rauen and the Ape thinke their owne yonge ones fairest. Than if a mā in such a cōpany, where some disdayne and haue despite at other mens inuēcions, and some counte their owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man should bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paste, or that he hath sene done in other places; there the hearers, fare as

flatterie

though the whole existimation of their wisdome were in ieoperdye to be ouerthrowen, & that euer after thei shoulde be coũted for verye diserdes, vnles they could in other mens inuentions pyche out matter to reprehend, & find fault at. If all other poore helpes fayle: then this is their extreame refuge. Theis thinges (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestours: wolde God we coulde be so wise as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped euery mans mouth, thei sitte downe againe. As who should sai, it were a verye daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser, then his forefathers were. And yet bee we contẽt to suffre the best & wittiest of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in anything a better ordre might haue ben taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, findyng therin many faultes. Manye tymes haue I chaunced vpon such proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and waywarde iudgementes, yea, & once in England: I pray you Syr (quod I) haue

Triptakers.

Parcial iudgementes.

haue you ben in our countrey? Yea forsoth (quod he) & there I taried for the space of .iiii. or .v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, ỹ the Westerne English men made agaynst their Kyng, which by their owne miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the meane season I was muche bounde and beholdynge to the right reuerende father, Iohn Morton, Archebishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, & at that time also lorde Chauncellour of Englande: a man Mayster Peter (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence & vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright. In his face did shine such an amiable reuerence, as was pleasaunte to beholde. Gentill in cõmunication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters, to proue, but without harme, what prompte witte, and what bolde spirite were in euery mã. In the which

rebellion.

Cardinall Morton.

as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectation. And the same person, as apte and mete to haue an administration in the weale publique, he dyd louingly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquēt, and ppthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellente. These qualitpes, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learnynge and vse had made perfecte. The Kynge put muche truste in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chiefe of his youth he was takē from schole into the Courte, and there passed all his tyme in much trouble & busines, beyng cōtinually tumbled & tossed in the waues of dyuers mysfortunes & aduersities. And so by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned can not easely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table,

there

there was also a certayne laye mā cun
nynge in the lawes of youre Realme.
Who, I can not tell wherof takynge
occasion, began diligētly and earnestly
to prayse that strayte and rygorous iu-
stice, which at that tyme was there ex-
ecuted vpon fellones, who as he sayde,
were for the moste part .xx. hanged to-
gether vpon one gallowes. And, seyng
so fewe escaped punyshement, he sayde
he coulde not chuse, but greatly won-
der and maruel, howe and by what e-
uil lucke it shold so come to passe, that
theues neuertheles were in euery place
so ryfe and so rancke. Naye Syr quod
I (for I durst boldely speake my minde
before the Cardinal) maruel nothinge
here at: for this punyshment of theues
passeth the limites of Justice, and
is also very hurtefull to the weale pu-
blique. For it is to extreame and cruel
a punishment for thefte, & yet not suf-
ficient to refrayne & withhold men frō
thefte. For simple thefte is not so great
an offense, that it owght to be punished
with death. Neither ther is any punish
ment so horrible, that it can kepe them
from

Of lawes not made accordyng to equitie.

frome stealynge, whiche haue no other craft, wherby to get their liuing. Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye, but also the most part of the world, be like euyll scholemaisters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their schollers. For great & horrible punishmētes be appointed for theues. wheras much rather prouision should haue ben made, that there were some meanes, whereby they myght get their liuyng, so that no man shoulde be dryuen to this extreme necessitie, firste to steale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough prouided for already. There be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their liuynge by, if they would not willingly be nought. Nay, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothynge of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe a go, oute of Blacke heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraūce: suche, I saye, as put their liues in ieoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse

By what meanes there might be fewer theues & robbers.

esse & lamenesse be not hable to occu-
ye their olde craftes, and be to aged to
erne new: of them I wyll speake no-
hing, forasmuch as warres haue their
rdinarie recourse. But let vs considre
hose thinges that chaunce daily before
ur eyes. First there is a great numbre
f gentlemē, which can not be content
o liue idle themselfes, lyke dorres, of ye
whiche other haue laboured for; their
enauntes I meane, whom they polle
shaue to the quicke, by reisyng their
entes (for this onlye poynte of fruga-
itie do they vse, men els through their
auasse & prodigall spendynge, hable to
ynge theymselfes to verye beggerye)
hese gentlemen, I say, do not only liue
n idlenesse themselfes, but also carrye
bout with them at their tailes a great
locke or traine of idle and loyterynge
ernyngmen, which neuer learned any
raft wherby to gette their liuynges.
These men as sone as their mayster is
ead, or be sicke themselfes, be inconti-
nent thrust out of dores. For gentlemē
hadde rather keepe idle persones, then
icke men, & many times the dead mans

Idlenesse the mother of theues.

Landlordes by the wai checked for Rentraisyng:

Of Idle seruyng mē come theues.

heyre is not hable to mainteine so great a house, and kepe so many seruing men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of seruice, either starue for honger, or manfullye playe the theues. For what would you haue thē to do? When they haue wandred abrode so longe, vntyl they haue worne threde bare their apparell, & also appaired their helth, then gentlemē because of their pale and sickely faces, and patched cotes, will not take them into seruice. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: Knowynge wel ynonghe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful seruice to a poore man wyth a spade and a mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in ydilnes and pleasure, was wont with a sworde and a buckler by hys syde to iette through the strete with a bragginge loke, and to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate. Naye by saynt Mary sir (quod the lawier) not so. For this kinde of men muste we make moste

of

For in them as men of stowter sto-
ckes, bolder spirites, and manlyer
urages then handycraftes men and
owemen be, doth consiste the whole
wre, strength, and puissaunce of oure
my, when we must fight in battayle.
orsothe sir aswell you myghte saye
uod I) ẏ for warres sake you muste
eryshe theues. For suerly you shall
uer lacke theues, whyles you haue
ẽ. No nor theues be not the most fal-
and faynt harted soldiers, nor souldi
urs be not the cowardleste theues: so
el thees. ii. craftes agree together.
but this faulte, though it be much v-
d amonge you, yet is it not peculiar
you only, but commen also almoste
all nations. Yet Fraunce besides
is is troubled & infected with a much
rer plage. The whole royalme is
lled and besieged with hiered souldi-
urs in peace tyme (yf that bee peace)
hyche be brought in vnder the same
lour and pretense, that hath persua-
ed you to kepe these ydell seruynge
en. For thies wysefooles & verye ar-
hedoltes thought the wealthe of the
whole

Betwene sol-
diers & theues
smal diuersitie

france

Whole coũtrey herin to conſiſt, if ther
were euer in a redineſſe a ſtronge and
ſure garriſon, ſpecially of old practiſe
ſouldiours, for they put no truſt at al
in men vnexercised. And therfore the
muſt be forced to ſeke for warre, to th
ende thei mai euer haue practiſed ſoul
diours, & cunnyng mãſteiers, leſt tha
(as it is pretely sayde of Saluſt) thei
handes & their mindes through idlene
or lacke of exerciſe, ſhoulde ware dul
But howe pernitious and peſtilenet
thyng it is to maintayne ſuche beaſtes
the Frenche men, by their owne har
mes haue learned, and the examples o
the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Sy
riens, and of manye other countreye
doo manifeſtly declare. For not only
the Empire, but alſo the fieldes an
Cities of all theſe, by diuers occaſi
ons haue been ouerrunned & deſtroye
of their owne armies before hande ha
in a redineſſe. Now how vnneceſſar
a thinge this is, hereby it maye ap
peare: that the Frenche ſouldioure
which from their youth haue ben prac
tiſed and inured in feates of armes, d

What inconuenientes cometh by continuell gariſons of ſouldiours.

no

t cracke nor aduaunce themselfes to
ue very often gotte the vpper hād &
nistry of your new made and vnprac-
ed souldiours. But in this poynte I
yll not vse many woordes, leste per-
aunce I maye seeme to flatter you.
o nor those same handy crafte men of
urs in Cities, nor yet the rude and
landish plowmen of the countreye,
e not supposed to be greatly affrayde
your gentlemens idle seruyngmen,
nlesse it be suche as be not of body or
ature correspondent to their strength
nd courage, orels whose bolde stoma-
es be discouraged throughe pouertie.
Thus you may see, that it is not to be
ared lest they should be effeminated,
thei were brought vp in good craftes
nd labourſome woorkes, whereby to
ette their liuynges, whose stoute and
urdye bodyes (for gentlemen vouch-
afe to corrupte & spill none but picked
nd chosen men) now either by reason
f rest and idlenesse be brought to wea-
enesse: orels by to easy and womanly
xercises be made feble, and vnhable to
ndure hardnesse. Truly howe so euer
the

the case standeth, thys me thinketh i
nothyng auayleable to the weale pu
blique, for warre sake, whiche you ne
uer haue. but when you wyl your sel
fes, to kepe and mainteyn an vnnume
rable flocke of that sort of men, that b
so troublesome and noyous in peace
wherof you ought to haue a thowsan
times more regarde, thē of warre. Bu
yet this is not only the necessary caus
of stealing. There is an other, whych
as I suppose, is yper & peculiar to yo
Englishmen alone. What is that, quo
the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde (quo
I) your shepe that were wont to be s
meke and tame, & so smal eaters, now
as I heare saye, be become so great de
uowerers and so wylde, that they eat
vp, and swallow downe the very me
them selfes. They consume, destroye
& deuoure whole fieldes, howses. an
cities. For looke in what partes of th
realme doth growe the fynest, an
therfore dearest woll, there noble men
and gentlemen; yea and certeyn Abbo
tes, holy men no doubt, not contentin
them

English shepe deuourers of men.

em selfes with the yearely reuenues
d profytes, that were wont to grow
theyr forefathers and predecessours
their landes, nor beynge content that
ey liue in rest and pleasure nothinge
ofiting, yea much noyinge the weale
ublique: leaue no grounde for tillage,
et inclose al into pastures: thei throw
une houses: they plucke downe tow-
s, and leaue nothing standynge, but
ly the churche to to be made a shepe-
wse. And as thoughe you losse no
nall quantity of grounde by forestes,
ases, laundes, and parkes, those good
ly men turne all dwellinge places
d all glebeland into desolation and
ildernes. Therfore that on couetous
d vnsatiable cormaraunte and very
age of his natyue contrey maye com
sse aboute and inclose many thousād
ers of grounde to gether within one
le or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust
yte of their owne, or els either by co-
eyne and fraude, or by violent oppres-
on they be put besydes it, or by wron-
es and iniuries thei be so wered, that
ey be compelled to sell all: by one
meanes

Shepe mas-
sters decayers
of husbandrye.

meanes therfore or by other, either b
hooke or crooke they muste needes de
parte awaye, poore, selye, wretche
soules, men, women, husbands, wiues
fatherlesse children, widowes, wofu
mothers, with their yonge babes, an
their whole household smal in substãce
and muche in numbre, as husbandry
requireth manye handes. Away
thei trudge, I say, out of their knowe
and accustomed houses, fyndynge n
place to reste in. All their household
stuffe, whiche is verye litle woorthe
thoughe it myght well abide the sale
yet beeynge sodainely thruste out
they be constrayned to sell it for a thin
of nought. And when they haue wand
red abrode tyll that be spent, what ca
they then els doo but steale, and th
iustly pardy be hanged, or els go abo
a beggyng. And yet then also they
caste in prison as vagabounde, becau
they go aboute & worke not: whom
mã wyl set a worke, though thei neu
so willyngly profre themselues thert
For one Shephearde or Heardman
ynoughe to eate vp that grounde wi
catte

The decaye of husbãdry causeth beggery, which is the mother of vagabounde & theues.

cattel, to the occupying wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolle is so rysen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by this meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geue themselues to idelnesse. For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeaunce God toke of their inordinate and vnsaciable couetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche muche more iustely shoulde haue fallen on the shepemasters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase neuer so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they lust not before they maye sell as deare as they lust. Now the same cause bring-

The cause of dearth of victuales.

What inconuenience cōmeth of dearth of wolle.

The cause of dearth of wolle.

Dearth of cattel with the cause therof.

geth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that so much ꝑ more, bicause that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decaied, there is no man that passethe for the bryadynge of younge stoore. For these riche men bynge not vp the pongeones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them abrode verie chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth onely in those places, where they sell. But whē they shall fetche them away frō thence wheare they be bredde faster then they can be broughte vp: then shall there also be felte greate dearth, stoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreasonable couetousnes of a few hath turned ꝯ thing to the vtter vndoing of your plaude, in the whiche thynge the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. For this greate dearth of victualles causeth men to kepe as litle houses, and as smale hospi-

Dearth of victuales is the decay of house keping, whereof ensueth beggery & theefte.

ta-

alitie as they possible maye, and to put
way their seruauntes: whether, I pray
ou, but a beggynge: or elles (whyche
hese gentell bloudes, and stoute sto-
nackes, wyll sooner set their myndes
nto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the
natter, to this wretched beggerye, and
miserable pouertie is ioyned greate
pantonnes, importunate superfluitie,
nd excessiue riote. For not only gen-
e mennes seruauntes, but also handi-
rafe men: yea and almooste the plough-
men of the countrey, with al other sor-
es of people, vse muche straunge and
noude newefanglenes in their appa-
ell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and
umptuous fare at their table.

Excesse in appasell and diet a mainteiner of beggery and thefte.

Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, har-
ottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses,
ewes, and yet an other stewes wyne-
uernes, ale houses, and tiplinge hou-
es, with so manye noughtie, lewde, and
nlawfull games, as dyce, cardes,
ibles, tennis, boules, coytes, do not
ll these sende the haunters of them
reyghte a stealynge, when theyr mo-
ey is gone? Caste oute these perni-

Baudes, whoores, winetauernes, alehouses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theues.

cyous abhominations, make a lawe that they, whiche plucked downe fer mes, and townes of husbandrie, shal re edifie them, or els yelde, and yrende the possession therof to suche, as wil g to the cost of buylding them anewe.

Rich men ingrossers and forestallers.

Suffer not these riche men to bie vp a to ingrosse, and forstalle, and with thei monopolie to kepe the market alone a please thē. Let not so many be brough vp in idelnes, let husbandry and tillag be restored, let clothewoorkinge be re newed, that ther may be honest labour for this idell sort to passe their tyme i profitablye, whiche hitherto either po uertie hath caused to be theues, or elle nowe be either vagabondes, or idel ser uing men, and shortelye wilbe theues Doubtles onles you finde a remedy fo these enormities, you shall in vaine ad uaunce your selues of executing iustic vpon fellons. For this iustice is mor beautiful in apperaūce, & more florish ynge to the shewe, then either iuste o profitable. For by suffring your youth wantonlie, and viciously to be brough vp, and to be infected, euen frome they

The corrupte education of youth a mother of theuery.

tey

ender age, by litle and litle with vices
hen a goddes name to be punished, whē
hey commit the same faultes after be-
ng come to mans state, which frō their
outhe they were euer like to do: In
his pointe, I praye you, what other
hing do you, then make theues, & then
unish them? Now as I was thus spea
inge, the Lawier began to make hym
elfe readie to answere, and was deter-
mined with him selfe to vse the cōmon
fashion, and trade of disputers, whiche
be more diligent in reherſinge, then an-
swering, as thinking the memorie wor-
thy of the chief praise. In dede sir, quod
he, you haue said wel, being but a strāu
ger, and one that myghte rather heare
some thing of these matters, then haue
any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the
same, as I wil incōtinent by opē proffe
make manifest and plaine. For firste I
will reherse in order all that you haue
sayde: then I wyll declare wherein
you be deceaued, through lacke of know
ledge, in all oure fashions, maners & cu-
stomes: and last of all I will aunswere
youre argumentes, and confute them

euery one. Firste therefore I wyll be-
gynne where I promysed . Foure
thynges you semed to me. Holde youre
peace, quod the Cardinall: for it appea-
reth that you will make no shorte aun-
swere, which make suche a beginnynge.
Wherefore at this time you shall not
take the paynes to make youre aun-
were, but kepe it to youre nexte mee-
tynge, whiche I woulde be righte glad,
that it might be euen to morrowe next,
onles either you or mayster Raphael
haue any earnest let. But nowe may-
ster Raphael, I woulde verye gladlye
heare of you, why you thinke thefte not
worthye to be punished with deathe, or
what other punishemente you can de-
uise more expedient to the weale publi-
que. For I am sure you are not of that
minde, that you woulde haue thefte es-
cape vnpunished. For yf nowe the ex-
treme punishemente of deathe can not
cause them to leaue stealinge, then yf
ruffians and robbers shoulde be suer of
their lyues: what violence, what feare
were hable to holde their handes from
robbinge, whiche woulde take the mi-
tigati-

He is worthelie put to fleece that is full of wordes.

ligation of the punishmente, as a verye prouocation to the mischiefe? Surelye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor iustice, that ye losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to counteruayle mans life. But if they would thus saye that the breakynge of iustice, & the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme & rigorous iustice wel be called plaine iniurie? For so cruell gouernaunce, so streite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by and by the sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money frō him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we haue anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth vs that

That theftes ought not to be punished by death.

Straite lawes not allowable.

we shall not kill. And be we then so hastie to kill a man for taking a litle money? And if any man would understãde killing by this cõmaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise, thẽ mans constitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then why maye it not lykewise by mans constitutions be determined after what sort whordome, fornication, and periurie may be lawfull? For where as by the permission of God, no man hath power to kil neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, cõcerninge slaughter of men: oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundemẽt of God haue killed those, whom this cõstitution of man commaũded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and daunger of Gods commaundement: shall it not then by this reason folow, that the power of Gods commaundemeute shall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that in like maner mans constitutions

That mans law ought not to be preiudicial to gods law.

al thinges shal determine how farre
: obseruation of all Gods commaun
mentes shall extende. To be shorte
:opses law, though it were vngentle
d sharpe, as a law that was geuen to
nomen, yea: and them very obstinate,
bborne, and stykenecked: yet it puni-
:d theefte by the purse, and not wyth
ath. And let vs not thinke that God
the newe law of clemencie & mercye,
der the whiche he ruleth vs with fa-
erlie gentlenes, as his deare children
th geuen vs greater scoupe & licēce to
e executiō of cruelte, one vpō another
ow ye haue heard the reasons where-
, I am persuaded that this punishe-
ft is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke
er is no body that knoweth not, how
rreasonable, yea: howe pernitious a
inge it is to the weale publike, that a
efe & an homicide or murderer, should
ffer equall and like punishment. For
e theefe seynge that man, that is con-
empned for theefte in no lesse ieoperdie,
or iudged to no lesse punishment, then
in that is conuicte of manslaughter:
hroughe this cogitation onelye he is

Theefte in the olde lawe not punished by death.

What inconue nience ensueth of punishynge theft with death.

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the theefe to be a murtherer.

strongly and forcibly prouoked, and
a maner constreined to kill him, whom
els he woulde haue but robbed. For th
murder beynge ones done, he is in les
feare, and in more hoope that the deed
shall not be bewrayed or knowen
seynge the partye is nowe deade, an
eyde oute of the waye, whiche onely
mighte haue vttered and disclosed it.
But if he chaunce to be taken & discr
ued: yet he is in no more daunger an
ieoperdie, then if he had committed bu
single felonye. Therfore whiles we g
about with suche crueltie to make th
ues afeerd, we prouoke them to kil goo
men. Now as touchinge this questio
what punishemente were more com
modious and better: that truelye in m
iudgemente is easier to be founde, the
what punishment might be warse. Fo
why should we doubt that to be a goo
and a profytable waye for the punish
mente of offendours, whiche we know
did in tymes paste so longe please th
Romaines, men in the administratio
of a weale publique moste experte, po
litique, and cunnynge. Suche as

What lawfull punishment may be deuised for theft.

nge them were conuicte of great and nous trespaces, them they condemp- into stone quarries, & into mienes bigge mettalle, there to be kepte in pnes all the dayes of their life. But concernyng this matter, I allow the inaūce of no natiō so wel as ꝑ which lawe, whiles I trauailed abroade a- ute the worlde, vsed in Persia amōge people that commenly be called the olylerites. Whose land is both large d ample, and also well and wittelye uerned: and the people in all conditi- s free and ruled by their owne la- es, sauinge that they paye a yearelye ibute to the great kinge of Persia. but bicause they be farre from the sea, mpassed and inclosed, almoste rounde oute with hyghe mountaines, and do ntent them selues with the fruites of heir owne lande, whiche is of it selfe erye fertile and frutfull: for this cause either they go to other countreis, nor ther come to them. And accordynge to he olde custome of the land, they desire ot to enlarge the boundes of their do- inios: & those that they haue by realō of

howe the Romayns punished thefte.

A worthy and commendable punishment of thefues in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia.

of the highe hilles be easely defended:
the tribute whiche they paye to the
chiefe lord and kinge, letteth them qui
and free from warfare. Thus their li
is commodious rather then gallante.
may better be called happie: or welth
then notable or famous. For they be n
knowen asmuch, as by name, I suppo
saning only to theyr next neighbours
borderes. They that in this lãde be a
teinted & conuict of felony, make resti
tion of that which they stole, to the rig
owner: and not (as they do in other la
des) to the kinge: whome they thinke
haue no more righte to the theftestol
thinge, than the thiefe him selfe hathe
But if the thing be loste or made awa
then the value of it is paide of the goo
des of such offenders, which els rema
neth all whole to their wiues, and ch
dren. And they them selues be condem
ned to be common labourers, and, ouel
the theste be verie heinous, they be ne
ther locked in prison, nor fettered in g
ues, but be vntied and go at large, lab
ring in the common workes. They th
refuse labour, or go slowly & slacklye

A prinie nippe for them that do otherwise.

Theues condemned to be cõmen labourers.

the

heir worke, be not onelye tied in theyes, but also pricked forward with stri-
es. But beinge diligente aboute theyr
worke they liue wout checke or rebuke.
Euery night they be called in by name:
nd be locked in theyr chambers. Beside
heir dayly labour, their life is nothing
ard or incommodious. Their fare is
ndifferēt good, borne at the charges of
he weale publike, bicause they be com-
men seruauntes to the commē wealth.
But their charges in all places of the
ande is not borne a like. For in some
artes that which is bestowed vpō thē
s gathered of almes. And thoughe that
waye be vncertein, yet the people be so
ul of mercy and pitie, that none is foūd
more profitable or plentifull. In some
places certein lādes be appointed here-
unto: of the reuenewes wherof they be
mainteined. And in some places euerye
mā geueth a certein tribute for ye same
ose and purpose. Againe in some partes
of the land these seruing men (for so be Seruing men.
these dampned persons called) do no cō-
mon worke, but as euerye priuate man
nedeth laborours, so he commeth into
the

the markette place, and there hireth
some of them for meate and drinke, an
a certeine limitted waiges by the daye
sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire
free man. It is also lawefull for ther
to chastice the slouthe of these seruing
men with stripes. By this meanes the
neuer lacke worke, and besides the gay
ninge of their meate and drinke, euery
one of them bringeth dailie some thin
into the common treasourie. All an
euery one of them be apparailed in on
coloure. Their heades be not polled o
shauen, but rounded a lytle aboue th
eares. And the typpe of the one eare i
cut of. Euery one of them maye tak
meate and drinke of their frendes, an
also a coate of their owne collour: bu
to receiue money is deathe, alwell t
the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And n
lesse ieoperdie it is for a free man to re
ceiue monepe of a serupnge manne fo
anye maner of cause: and lykewise fo
seruinge men to touche weapons. Th
seruinge men of euerye seuerall shire be
distincte and knowen frome other by
their seuerall and distincte badges:

whiche

ſiche to caſte awaye is death: as it is
o to be ſene oute of the precincte of
eir owne ſhire, or to talke with a ſer
nge man of another ſhyre. And it is
leſſe daunger to them, for to intende
runne awaye, then to do it in dede.
a and to conceal ſuche an enterpries
a ſeruinge man it is deathe, in a free
n ſeruitude. Of the contrarie parte,
him that openeth and vttereth ſuche
unſelles, be decreed large giftes: to a
e man a great ſomme of money, to a ſer
ng man freedome: and to them bothe
igeuenes and pardone of that they
ere of counſell in that pretence. So
at it can neuer be ſo good for them to
forewarde in their euyll purpoſe, as
repentaunce to tourne backe. This
the lawe and order in this behalfe, as
haue ſhewed you: Wherein what
manitie is vſed, howe farre it is
ome crueltie, and howe commody-
is it is, you do playnelye perceaue:
or aſmuche as the ende of their wrath
d punyſhemente intendeth nothynge
les, but the deſtruction of vices, and
uynge of menne: wyth ſo vſynge, and
ordering

An euell intẽt eſteemed as the dede.

The right ende and intent of punyſhements.

ordering them, that they can not chu
but be good, and what harme so eu
they did before, in the residewe of the
life to make a mendes for the same.
Moreouer it is so litle feared, that th
shoulde tourne againe to their vicio
conditions, that wayefaringe men wh
for their sauegarde chuse them to the
gupdes before any other, in euery chei
chaunging and taking new. For if th
would committe robbery, they haue n
thinge aboute them meete for that pu
pose. They may touch no weapons: n
ney founde aboute them shoulde betr
the robbery. They shoulde be no soon
taken with the maner, but furthwi
they shoulde be punished. Neither th
can haue any hope at all to skape awa
by flienge. For howe should a man, th
in no parte of his apparell is like oth
men, slye preuelie and vnknowen, or
les he woulde runne awaye naked?
Notwebeit so also flyinge he shoulde
discrued by the roundyng of his hea
and his eare marke. But it is a thin
to be doubted, that they will laye the
heddes together, and conspire again
th

ye weale publique. No no I warrante
ou. For the seruyng men of one sheire
one coulde neuer hoope to bringe to
sse suche an enterprise, without solli-
tinge, entysinge, and allurynge the
ruinge men of manye other shieres to
ke their partes. Whiche thinge is to
em so impossible, that they maye not
much as speake or talke togethers, or
lute one an other. No it is not to be
oughte that they woulde make theyr
one countreymen and companions of
eir counsell in suche a matter, whiche
ey knowe well should be ieopardie to
e concelour therof, and great commo-
oditie and goodnes to the opener and
tectour of the same. Whereas on the
her parte, there is none of them all
peles or in dispaire to recouer againe
s former estate of freedome, by humble
edience, by paciente suffringe, and by
uing good tokens and likelyhoode of
imselfe, that he wyll euer after that,
ue like a trewe, and an honest man.
or euerye yeare diuers of them be re-
ored to their freedome: throughe the
mmendation of their patiẽce. Whan

I had thus spoken, sayinge moreouer
that I coulde see no cause why this or
dre might not be had in Englande wit
muche more profyte, then the Justic
whiche the lawyer so heighly prayse
Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde ne
uer be so stablyshed in Englande, bu
that it must nedes bringe the weale pu
blike into great ieoperdie and hasarde.
And as he was thus sayinge, he shake
his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, an
so he helde his peace. And all that wer
there present, with one assent agreed t
his sayinge. Well, quod the Cardinal
yet it were harde to iudge withoute
proffe, whether this order would do wo
here or no. But when the sentence
death is geuen, if than the kinge shoul
commaunde execution to be defferred
spared, and would proue this order an
fassion: takinge awaye the priuiliges
all saintuaries: if then the profe shoul
declare the thinge to be good and prof
table, that it were wel done that it wer
stablished: Els the condempned and r
priued persons may aswel & as iustly b
put to death after this profe, as whe

the

they were first cast. Neither any ieoper-
die can in the meane space growe herof.
Yea, and me thynketh that these vaga- Vagabondes.
bounde may very wel be ordered after
the same fashion, against whom we haue
hitherto made so manye lawes, and so
litle preuailed. Whē the Cardinall had
thus saide, than euery man gaue greate The wauering
praise to my sayinges, whiche a litle be- iudgementes
fore they had disallowed. But moost of of flatterers.
all was esteemed that which was spoken
of vagabounde, bicause it was the car-
dinalles owne addition. I can not tell
whether it were best to reherse the com-
municatiō that folowed, for it was not
very sad. But yet you shall heare it, for
there was no euil in it, & partlye it par-
teined to the matter before saide. There
haūced to stād by a certein iesting para-
site, or scoffer, which wold seme to resē-
ble & coūterfeit ye foole. But he did in
such wise coūterfeit, that he was almost
the very same in dede that he labored to re-
presēt: he so studied wt wordes & sayinges
brought furth so out of time and place
to make sporte and moue laughter, that
he himselfe was oftener laughed at the

his iestes were. Yet the foolishe fellowe brought out now and then such indifferent and reasonable stuffe, that he made the prouerbe true, which saieth: he that shooteth oft, at the last shal hit the marke. So that whē one of the company sayd that throughe my cōmunication a good order was founde for theues, & that the Cardinal also had wel prouided for vagabondes, so that only remained some good prouision to be made for them that through sickenes and age were fallen in to pouertie, & were become so impotent and vnwelde, that they were not able to worke for their liuinge: Tushe (quod he) let me alone with them: you shall se me do well ynough with thē. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde of people were driuen sumwher oute of my sight, they haue so sore troubled me many times & ofte, when they haue wyth their lamentable teares begged money of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my mynde so tune their songe, that thereby they euer got of me one farthinge. For euer more the one of these two chaunced: either that I would not, or els that

Sicke, aged, impotent persons and beggers.

I coulde

I could not, bicause I had it not. Ther-
ore now they be wared wise. For when
hey see me go by, bicause they will not
ese theyr labour, they let me passe and
aye not one worde to me. So they loke
or nothinge of me, no in good sothe no
more, thē yf I were a priest, or a monke.
But I will make a lawe, that all these
eggers shall be distributed, and besto-
ed into houses of religion. The men
albe made laye brethren, as they call
hē, and the women nūnes. Hereat the
cardinal smiled, and allowed it in iest,
a and all the residue in good earnest.
But a certeine freare graduate in diui-
itie, toke suche pleasure and delite in
his ieste of priestes and monkes, that he
so beynge elles a man of gristie and
erne grauitie, began merilie and wan-
onlye to ieste and taunt. Naye, quod he,
ou shall not so be ridde and dispatched
f beggers, oneles you make some proui-
on also for vs frears. Why, quod the
ster, that is done alreadie, for my lord
im selfe set a verye good order for you,
whē he decreed that vagaboūdes should
e kept straite, and set to worke: for you

A cōmen prouerbe amonge beggers.

A mery talke betwene a Frere and a foole.

be the greatest and veriest vagabounde
that be. This text also, when they sawe
the Cardinall not disproue it, euery mā
toke it gladly, sayyng ouelye the Frear.
For he (and that no marueile) beynge
thus touched on the quicke, and hit on
the gaule, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at
it, and was in such a rage, that he could
not refraine himselfe frō chidinge, shol-
ding, railing, and reuiling. He called the
fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbi-
ter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdi-
tion: citinge therwith terrible threate-
ninges out of holie Scripture. Then
the iestynge scoffer beganne so playe the
scoffer in dede, and verely he was good
at ỹ, for he could play a part in that play
no man better. Patient poure selfe good
maister Freare, quod he, and be not an-
grie, for scripture saieth: in poure patie-
ence you shall saue your soules. Then
the Freare (for I will rehearse his own
very woordes.) No gallous wretche, I
am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste
wise, I do not sinne: for the Psalmiste
saith, be you angrie, and sinne not. Thē
the Cardinal spake gently to the freare,

Talke qualifi
ed according to
the person that
speaketh.

and

d desired him to quiete himselfe.
o my lord, quod he, I speak not but of
ood zeale as I oughte: for holye men
d a good zeale. Wherefore it is sayd:
e zeale of thy house hath eaten me.
d it is songe in the church. The skor-
es of Helizeus, whiles he went vp in-
the house of God, felte the zeale of
e bald, as peraduenture this skorning
llaine ribaulde shall feele. Pou do it
uod the Cardinall) perchaunce of a
od mynde and affection: but me thin-
th pou shoulo do, I can not tell whe-
er more holilie, certes more wisely, yf
u woulde not set poure witte to a foo
s witte, and with a foole take in hande
oolishe contention. No forsoeth my
de (quod he) I shoulde not do more
yselye. For Salomon the wyse saieth:
nswere a foole accordinge to his folye,
ke as I do nowe, and do shew him the
t that he shall fall into, yf he take not
de. For if many skorners of Helizeus,
hiche was but one bald man, felte the
ale of the balde, how muche more shall
ne skorner of many freers feele, amõge

whom be manye balde me? And we hau
also the popes bulles, whereby all tha
mocke & shame vs be excõmunicate, sus
pended, and accursed. The cardinal, sein
that none ende would be made, set awa
the iester by a pieup bicke, & turned th
cõmunicatiõ to an other matter. Shor
ly after, when he was risen from the ta
ble, he went to heare his suetes, and s
dimissed vs. Loke maister More wpt
hold longe & tedious a tale I haue kep
you, whiche surely I woulde haue be
ashamed to haue done, but that you
earnestly desired me, and did after suc
a sorte geue eare vnto it, as though yo
would not that any parcel of that con
munication should be left out. Which
thoughe I haue done sumwhat briefel
yet could I not chuse but reheasle it, fo
the iudgemente of them, whiche whe
they had improued and disallowed m
sayinges, yet incontinent hearynge th
Cardinall allowe them, dyd themse
ues also approue the same: so impuden
ly flatterynge him, that they wer nothi
ashamed to admitte, yea almoste in goo
earnest, his iesters folish inuentions: b

cau

ıſe that he him ſelfe by ſmiling at thē
ſeme not to diſproue them. So that
eby you may right wel perceaue how
le the courtiers woulde regarde and
eme me & my ſayinges. I enſure you
ıſter Raphael, quod I, I toke greate
lectacion in hearing you: all thinges
at you ſaide were ſpoken ſo wittily
d ſo pleaſauntly. And me thought me
lfe to be in the meane time, not onelye
home in my coūtrei, but alſo through
e pleaſaunt remembraunce of the Car
nal, in whoſe houſe I was brought
p of a childe, to ware a child againe.
nd frend Raphael, though I did beare
etye greate loue towardes you before,
t ſeynge you do ſo earneſtlye fauoure
ys man, you wyll not beleue howe
uche my loue towardes you is nowe
creaſed. But yet, all this notwithſtā-
inge, I can by no meanes chaunge my
und, but that I muſt nedes beleue, that
ou, if you be diſpoſed, and can fynde in
oure hearte to followe ſome Princes
ourte, ſhall with your good counſelles
reatlye helpe and further the commen
ealthe. Wherfore there is nothynge

more apperteining to youre dewty, that
is to saye, to the dewtie of a good man.
For where as your Plato iudgeth that
weale publiques shall by this meanes
atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philo-
sophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges
geue themselues to the studie of Philo-
sophie, howe farre I praye you, shall
commen wealthes then be frome thys
felicitie, yf Philosophers wyll vouche
saufe to instruct kinges with their good
counsell? They be not so vnkinde (quo
he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea
manye haue done it alreadye in boo-
kes that they haue putforthe, if kyn-
ges and princes would be willynge and
readye to folowe good counsell. But
Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, onles
lesse kynges themselues woulde apply
their mindes to the studye of Philoso-
phie, that elles they woulde neuer thor-
roughlye allowe the counsell of Philo-
sophers, beynge themselues before eue
from their tender age infected, and cor-
rupt with peruerse, and euill opinion
Whiche thynge Plato hymselfe prou-
trew

be in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde
pose to any kyng wholsome decrees,
nge my endeuoure to plucke out of
mynde the pernicious originall cau
of vice and noughtines, thinke you
that I shoulde furthewith either be
ien awaye, or elles made a laughyng
ke? Well suppose I were with the
nche kynge, and there syttinge in his
nsell, whiles in that mooste secrete
sultation, the kynge him selfe there
nge presente in hys owne personne
y beate their braynes, and serche
verye bottomes of their wittes to
tusse by what crafte and meanes
kynge mayr styl kepe Myllayne, and
we to him againe fugitiue Naples,
d then howe to conquere the Vene-
ns, and howe to bringe vnder his iuz
diction all Italie, then howe to win
dominion of Flaunders, Brabant,
of all Burgũdie; with diuers other
ides, whose kingdomes he hath longe
o in mind and purpose inuaded. Here
hiles one coũselleth to cõclude a legue
peace with the Venetians, so longe
to

The Frenchemen priuilie be counseled from the desire of Italie.

to endure, as shall be thought mete an
expedient for their purpose, and to mak
them also of their counsell, yea, and b
sides that to geue them part of the pra
whiche afterwarde, when they hau
brought their purpose about after the
owne myndes, they maye require an
claime againe. An other thinketh be
to hiere the Germaynes. An oth
Lasce knigh- woulde haue the fauoure of the Swi
tes. chers wonne with money. An othe
aduyse is to appease the puissaunte p
wer of the Emperoures maiestie wy
golde, as with a moste pleasaunte, a
acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an oth
gyueth counsell to make peace wy
the kynge of Arragone, and to resto
vntohim hys owne kyngedome of N
uarra, as a full assuraunce of peace.
An other commeth in with his fiue
ges, and aduiseth to hooke in the kyn
of Castell with some hope of affinitie
allyaunce, and to bringe to their pa
certeine Peeres of his courte for gre
pensions. Whiles they all staye at
chiefeste doubte of all, what to do
the meane time with Englande, and
ag

ree all in this to make peace with the
nglishmen, and with moste suer and
onge bandes to bynde that weake
d feable frendeshippe, so that they
ste be called frendes, and hadde in
spicion as enemyes. And that there
e the Skottes muste be hadde in a
dines, as it were in a standynge, rea-
at all occasions, in aunters the En-
shmen shoulde sturre neuer so lytle,
ontinent to set vpon them. And
reouer preuilie and secretlye (for o-
lie it maye not be done by the truce
t is taken) priuelie therefore I saye
make muche of some Piere of Eng-
de, that is bannished hys countrey,
iche muste cleime title to the crowne
the realme, and affirme hym selfe
te inherytoure thereof, that by this
still meanes they maye holde to
m the kinge, in whome elles they
ue but small truste and affiaunce.
ere I saye, where so great and heyghe
tters be in consultation, where so
nye noble and wyse menne counsell
yr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I
selye

felie man shoulde rise vp and will th
to tourne ouer the leafe, and learn
newe lesson, sayinge that my counsel
not to medle with Italy, but to ta
styll at home, and that the kyngedo
of Fraunce alone is almoofte great
then that it maye well be gouerned
one man: so that the kynge shoulde
nede to studye howe to gette more:
And then shoulde propose vnto th
the decrees of the people that be c
led the Achorians, whiche be situ
ouer agaynste the Ilande of Utopia
the southeaste side. These Achori
ones made warre in their kinges qu
rell for to gette him another kingdo
whiche he laide claime vnto, and an
ced hymselfe ryghte inheritoure to
crowne thereof, by the tytle of an o
alliaunce. At the last when they had g
ten it, and sawe that they hadde euen
muche veration and trouble in kepy
it, as they had in gettynge it, and t
either their newe conquered subiec
by sundrye occasions were makyn
daylye insurrections to rebell agai
them, or els that other countreis w

A notable exã-
ple, and wor-
thy to be follo-
wed.

ntinuallie with diuers inrodes and
ragynges inuadynge them : so that
ey were euer fighting either for thē,
agaynste them , and neuer coulde
eake vp theyr campes: Seynge them
lues in the meane season pylled and
npouerished: their money caried oue
the realme: their own men killed to
aintaine the glorye of an other nati-
n: when they had no warre, peace no-
ynge better then warre, by reason
at their people in war had so inured
emselues to corrupte and wicked ma
rs: that they had taken a delite and
easure in robbinge and stealing: that
rough manslaughter they had gathe
d boldnes to mischiefe : that thier
wes were had in contempte, and no-
ing set by or regarded: that their king
ynge troubled wyth the charge and
nernaunce of two kingdomes, could
t nor was not hable perfectlie to dis
arge his office towardes them both:
ing againe that all these euelles and
oubles were endles: at the laste layde
eir heades together, & like faithfull &

louynge

loutinge subiectes gaue to their kyn
free choise and libertie to kepe styll t
one of these two kingdomes whether
would: alleginge that he was not hab
to kepe both, and that they were mo t
might well be gouerned of halfe a kin
forasmuche as no man woulde be co
tent to take him for his mulettour, th
kepeth an other mans moyles besyd
his. So this good prince was constru
ned to be content with his olde kyng
dome, and to giue ouer the newe to o
of his frendes . Who shortelye af
was violētlie driuen out. Furtherm
if I shoulde declare vnto them, that
this busie preparaūce to warre, wh
by so many nations for his sake shou
be broughte into a troublesome hurl
burley, when all his coffers were em
tied, his treasures wasted, and his p
ple destroied, should at the lēgth throu
some mischauce be in vaine and to no
effect: and that therfore it were best
him to content him selfe with his ow
kingedō of fraūce, as his forfathers a
predecessours did before him: to ma
much of it, to enrich it, and to make it
flo

ourishyng as he could, to endeuoure
im selfe to loue his subiectes, & againe
be beloued of thē, willingly to liue wt
hē, peaceably to gouerne thē, and with
ther kyngdomes not to medle, seinge
hat whiche he hath all redy is euen
noughe for hym, yea and more then
e can wel turne hym to: this myne
oupse maister More, how thinke you
would be harde and taken? So God
elpe me not very thankefully, quod
. Wel let vs procede then, quod he.
suppose that some kyng and his couns
l were together whettinge their wits
s and deuisinge, what subtell crafte
ney myght inuēte to enryche the kinge
ith greate treasures of money. First
e counselleth to rayse and enhaunce
e valuation of money when the kinge
ust paye anye: and agayne to calle
wne the value of coyne to lesse them
is worthe, when he muste receiue or
ther any. For thus greate sommes
albe payde with a lytyl money, and
here lytle is due muche shalbe receas
d. An other counselleth to fayne
arre, that when vnder this colour &

Enhaunchyng and imbasyng of coynes.

Counterfeyte warres.

pretence the kyng hath gathered great aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe vpon mans bloude lyke a louing and a mercifull prince.

The renewing of old lawes.

An other putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughte eaten lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that the were made, euerie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kynge to require: for there is no waye so profitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of iustice. An other aduyseth him to forbidde manye thinges vnder greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be vsed, and afterward to dispence for money with thē, whych by this prohibition subiecte loose and dammage. For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and pro-

Restraynyng.

fit

te riseth two wayes. First by takinge
nfaytes of them whome couetousnes
gaynes hath brought in daunger of
his statute, and also by sellinge pri-
leges and licences, whyche the bet-
r that the prince is forlothe, the dee-
r he selleth them: as one that is lothe
graunte to any priuate persone anye
inge that is against the profite of
s people. And therefore maye sel
one but at an exceding dere pryce. An
ther giueth the kynge counsel to en-
nunger vnto his grace the iudges of
e Realme, that he maye haue them
ier on his side, & that they maye in
erpe matter despute and reason for
e kynges right. Yea & further to call
em into his palace & to require them
ere to argue & discusse his matters in
s owne presence. So there shalbe no
atter of his so openlye wronge and
nuste, wherein one or other of them,
ther because he wyl haue sumthinge
allege & obiecte or that he is ashamed
saye that whyche is sayde alreadye,
els to pike a thanke with his prince,
ll not fynde some hole open to set a

Selling of licences.

snare in, wherewith to take the contra-
rie parte in a trippe. Thus whiles the
Iudges cannot agree amonges them
selues, reasoninge and arguing of that
which is playne enough, and bringing
the manifest trewthe in dowte: in the
meane season the Kinge maye take a fy
occasion to vnderstād the lawe as sha
moste make for his aduauntage, where
vnto al other for shame, or for feare wi
agree. Then the Iudges may be bold
to pronoūce on the kynges side. For h
that geueth sentēce for the king, canno
be without a good excuse. For it shalb
sufficient for him to haue equitie on hi
part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, c
a wrythen & wrested vnderstandinge
the same (or els, whiche with good & iu
Iudges is of greater force then all la
wes be) the Kynges indisputable pr
rogatiue. To conclude, al the counse
lours agre and consent together wi
The saiyng of riche Crassus. the ryche Crassus, that no abundāce
gold can be sufficiēt for a prince, whi
muste kepe and mayntayne an arm
furthermore that a kynge, thoughe
would, can do nothinge vnlustlye. F

ll that all men haue, yea also the men
hē selfes be all his. And that euery mā
ath so much of his owne, as ỹ kynges
eutlues hath not taken from hym.
nd that it shalbe moste for the kinges
uātage, that his subiectes haue be-
e lytle or nothinge in their possession,
s whose sauegarde dothe herein con-
ste, that his people doe not ware wan-
on and wealthie through riches and
bertie, because where these thinges
e, there men be not wonte patiently
obeye harde, vniuste, and vnlawefull
ommaundementes. Where as on the
ther part neade & pouertie doth holde
owne and kepe vnder stowte coura-
es, and maketh them patient perforce,
kynge from them bolde and rebel-
nge stomakes. Here agayne if I
oulde vpse vp, and boldelye affirme
at all these counselles be to the kinge
shonoure and reproche, whose ho-
oure and safetye is more and rather
upported and vpholden by the wealth
nd ryches of his people, then by hys
wne treasures: and if I should declare
hat the cōmunaltie chuseth their king

for their owne sake, & not for his sake: to the intent, that through his labour and studie they might al liue wealthily sauffe from wronges and iniuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a shepeheard is in that he is a shepherde, to feede his shepe rather then himselfe. For as towchinge this, that they thinke the defence and maintenaunce of peace to consiste in the pouertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where shal a man finde more wrangling, quarelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? who be more desirous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a hurliburlye (therby trustinge to get some winde fal) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leese? And yf anye Kyng were so smalye regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yet so behated of his subiectes, that

Pouertye the mother of debate & decai of realmes.

other

ther wayes he could not kepe them in
we, but onlye by open wronges, by pol
nge and shauinge, and by bringinge
pem to beggerie, sewerly it were bet-
r for him to forsake his kingedome.
pen to holde it by this meanes: where-
? though the name of a king be kepte,
et the maiestie is lost For it is againste
e dignitie of a kynge to haue rule
uer beggers, but rather ouer ryche
d welthie men. Of this mynde was
e hardie & couragius Fabrice, when
e sayde, that he had rather be a ruler
riche men, then be ryche himselfe.
nd verelye one man to liue in plea-
re and wealth, whyles all other we-
e and smarte for it, that is the parte,
ot of a kynge, but of a tayler. To be
orte as he is a folyshe physition, that
nnot cure his patientes disease, on-
s he casste him in an other syckenes,
o he that cannot amēd the liues of his
bjectes, but be taking from them the
ealthe and cōmoditie of lyfe, he muste
edes graunte that, he knoweth not the
ate how to gouerne men. But let
im rather amende his owne lyfe,

A worthy saying of Fabrice

renounce vnhonest pleasures, and for
sake pride. For these be the chiefe vi
ces that cause hym to runne in the con
tempte or hatred of his people. Let hi
lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man.
Let him doe cost not aboue his power
Let hym restreyne wyckednes . Le
hym preuente vices, and take away
the occasions of offenses by well ord
tynge hys subiectes, and not by suffe
tynge wickednes to increase afterwar
to be punyshed. Let hym not be to ha
stie in callynge agayne lawes, whych
a custome hathe abrogated: speciall
suche as haue bene longe forgotten, an
neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hy
neuer vnder the cloke and pretence
transgression take suche fynes and fo
faytes, as no Iudge wyll suffre a pr
uate persone to take, as vniuste & ful
gile. Here if I should bryng forth b
fore them the lawe of the Macarien
whiche be not farre distaunt from Ut
pia: whose kynge the daye of hys c
ronation is bounde by a solempn
othe, that he shall neuer at anye tym
haue in hys treasure aboue a thou

A straunge and notable lawe of the Macarpens.

saund

nde pounde of golde or syluer. They
ye a verye good kynge, whiche toke
ore care for the wealthe & cōmoditye
his countrey, then the for thenrichīg
him selfe, made this lawe to be a stop
nd a barre to kinges from heaping and
ording vp so muche money as might
npoueryshe their people. For he for-
awe that this som of treasure woulde
uffice to supporte the kynge in battaile
gainst his owne people, if they shoulde
haunce to rebell: and also to maintein
is warres againste the inuasions of
is forreyn enemies. Againe he percei-
ed the same stocke of money to be to
itle and vnsufficient to encourage and
nhable him wrongfullye to take away
ther mens goodes: whyche was the
hiefe cause whie the lawe was made.
In other cause was this. He thought
hat by this prouisiō his people shoulde
not lacke money, wherewith to mayne-
eyne their dayly occupieng and chaf
ayre. And seynge the kynge could
not chewse but laye out and bestowe al
that came in aboue the prescript some
of his stocke, he thought he woulde
seke

seke no occasions to doe his subiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of euel men, and loued of good men.

These, and suche other informations, yf I shoulde vse among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deafe hearers thinke you should I haue? Deafe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that suche communication shalbe vsed, or suche counsell geuen, as you be suere shall neuer be regarded nor receaued. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beate into their heades, whose myndes be allredye preuented: with cleane contrarye persuasions? This schole philosophie is not vnpleasaunt amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counselles of kinges where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, there thinges haue no place. That is it whiche I meute (quod he) when I sayd philosophye hadde no place among kiges. In dede (quod I) this schole philosophi

Schole philosophye in the consultations of Princes hath no place.

sophie hath not: whiche thinketh all
inges mete for euery place. But there
an other philosophye more ciuile,
hyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her
one stage, and thereafter orderynge
d behaumge hereselfe in the playe
at she hathe in hande, playethe her
rte accordingelye with comlynes,
:teringe nothinge oute of dewe or-
e and fassyon. And this is the
hilosophye that you muste vse. Or
s whyles a commodye of Plautus
: playnge, and the vyle bondemen
offynge and tryffelinge amonge
yem selfes, yf you shoulde sodenlye
me vpon the stage in a Philosophers
pparrell, and reherse oute of Octa-
ia the place wherein Seneca disputeth
ith Nero: had it not bene better for
on to haue played the domme per-
one, then by reherslynge that, whych
:rued neither for the tyme nor place
o haue made suche a tragycall come-
ye or galymalfreye? For by bryn-
ynge in other stuffe that nothinge ap-
ertaynethe to the presente matter, you
ust nedes marre and peruert the play

A fine and a fitte similitude.

A dãme plaies

that

that is in hand, thoughe the stuffe that
you bringe be muche better. What part
soeuer you haue taken vpon you, playe
that aswel as you can and make the best
of it: And doe not therefore disturbe
and bringe out of ordre the whole mat-
ter, bycause that an other, whyche is
meryer and better cummethe to your
remembraunce. So the case standeth in
a common wealthe, and so it is in the
consultations of Kynges and pryuces.
Peeuel opinions and noughty persua-
sions can not be vtterly and quyte plu-
cked out of their hartes, if you can not
euen as you wolde remedy vices, which
vse and custome hath confirmed: yet for
this cause you must not leaue and for-
sake the common wealthe: you must
not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, be-
cause you can not rule and kepe down
the wyndes. No nor you muste not la-
boure to dryue into their heades new
and straunge informations, whych
you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regar-
ded wyth them that be of cleane contr-
ry mindes. But you must with a craft
wile and a subtell trayne studye an
endeuour

ɔeuonre youre selfe, asmuche as in
ı lyethe, to handle the matter wytte-
e and handesomelye for the purpose,
d that whyche you can not turne to
od, so to order it that it be not uerye
dde. For it is not possible for al thin-
s to be well, onles all men were good.
hych I thinke wil not be yet thies
od many yeares. By this meanes
uod he) nothing elles wyl be brought
passe, but whyles that I goe aboute
remedye the madnes of others, I
oulde be euen as madde as they. For
I wolde speake thiges that be trewe
muste neades speake suche thinges:
it as for to speake false thinges, whe-
er that be a philosophers parte or no
can not tel, truelye it is not my part.
owebeit this communicatiō of mine,
oughe peraduenture it maye seme vn-
esaunte to them, yet can I not see
hy it shoulde seme straunge, or foleshe
ewefangled. If so be that I should
eake those thinges that Plato fay-
ethe in his weale publique: or that the
ltopians doe in theires, these thinges
ɔoughe they were (as they be in dede)
better

The Utopian weale publique.

better, yet they myghte seme spoken
oute of place. Forasmuche as here a
monges vs, euerye man hathe his pos-
sessions seuerall to him selfe, and there
all thinges be common. But what
was in my communication conteyned
that mighte not, and oughte not in any
place to be spoken? Saynge that to
them whyche haue throughlye decreed
and determined with them selfes to rũ
ne hedlouges the contrary waye it can
not be acceptable and pleasaunt, becaus
it calleth them backe and sheweth them
the ieopardies, Merilye of all thinges
that euel & vitiouse maners haue cau
sed to seme inconueniente and nought
should be refused, as thinges vnmete
reprochefull, thẽ we must among Chri
sten people wynke at the moste part
of al those thiges, whyche Christ taugh
vs, and so streitly forbad thẽ to be win
ked at, ẏ those thinges also whiche h
whispered in ẏ eares of his disciples h
cõmaũded to be proclaimed in opẽ hou
ses. And yet ẏ moste parte of thẽ is mo
dissident from the maners of the worl
nowe a dayes, then my communicat

was. But preachers slie & wilie men lowynge youre counsel (as I suppose) because they saw men euel willing frame theyr manners to Christes rule they haue wrested and wriede his ctrine, and like a rule of leade haue plyed it to mennes manners: that some meanes at the leaste waye, ey myghte agree together. Wherby can not see what good they haue done: but that men may more slenderlye be ell. And I truelye shoulde preuaile en as litle in kinges counselles. For her I muste saye otherwayes then ey saye, and then I were as good to ye nothinge, or els I muste saye the ne that they saye, and (as Mitio eth in Terēce) helpe to further their idnes. For that craftye wyle, and subtraine of peuts, I can not perceaue what purpose it serueth, wherewith u wolde haue me to study and endeure my selfe, yf all thinges can not made good, yet to handle them wisely and handsomely for the purpose, & farre forth as is possible they, maye t be very euel. For there is no place

to

to dissẽble in, nor to wincke in. Nough
tye counselles muste be openlye allowe
and verye pestilent decrees muste be ap
proued. He shalbe counted worse then
spye, yea almoste as euel as a traytou
that with a faynte harte dothe prayt
euel and nopesome decrees. Moreou
a man canne haue no occasion to de
good, chaunsinge into the companye
them, whych wyl soner peruerte a goo
man, then be made good them selfe
through whose euel company he shal
marred, or els if he remayne good a
innocent, yet the wickednes and foll
of others shalbe imputed to hym, a
layde in his necke. So that it is impo
sible with that crafftye wycle, & subt
crayne to turne anye thinge to bette
Wherefore Plato by a goodlye simi
tude declareth, why wise men refrai
to medle in the common wealthe. F
when they see the people swarme i
to the stretes, & daily wet to the skin
with rayne, and yet can not persua
them to goe out of the rayne, and to t
ke their houses, knowynge wel, that
they should goe out to thẽ, they shou
nothin

thinge preuayle, nor wynne ought by
, but with them be wette also in the
ine, they do kepe them selfes within
eir houses, being coutent that they be
ffe them selues, seinge they cannot re-
edye the follye of the people. Howe
it, doubtlesse maister More (to speke
uelye as my mynde geueth me) where
ssessions be priuate, where money
arethe all the stroke, it is harde and
moste impossible that there the weale
blique maye iustelye be gouerned,
d prosperoulye florysshe. Onles
u thinke thus: that Justyce is there
ecuted, where all thinges come into
e handes of euell men, or that pros-
ritye there florysshethe, where all is
uided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe
uertheleste doe not leade theire liues
ry wealthely, and the residewe
ne myserablye, wretchedlye, and beg-
rlye. Wherefore when I consyder
ith my selfe and weye in my mynde
e wyse, and godlye ordinaunces of
e Utopians, amonge whome with
rye fewe lawes all thinges be so
el and wealthelye ordered, that ver-

tue is had in price and estimation, an
yet all thinges beinge there commo
euerye man hath aboundaunce of euer
thinge. Againe on the othee part, whe
I compare with them so manye nat
ons euer makinge newe lawes, yet nor
of them all well and sufficientlye, fu
nyshed with lawes: where euerye ma
calleth that he hathe gotten, his owr
proper and priuate goodes, where
many newe lawes daylye made be n
sufficiente for euerye man to enioy
defend, and knowe from an other mar
that whych he calleth his owne: whi
thinge the infinite controuersies in th
lawe, daylye ryspnge, neuer to be e
ded, playnly declare to be trewe. The
thinges (I say) when I consider wit
me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, a
doe nothinge marueille, that he woul
make no lawes for them, that refuse
those lawes, whereby all men shoul
haue and enioye equall portions of we
thes and commodities. For the wi
man did eafely forefee, this to bee t
one and onlye waye to the wealthe
a communaltye, yf equalitye of a
thing

Plato wylled al thinges in a comune wealth to be common.

inges should be broughte in and sta-
yshed. Whyche I thinke is not possi-
e to be obserued, where euerye mans
oddes be proper & peculiare to him
fe. For where euerye man vnder cer-
yne tytles and pretences draweth and
ucketh to himselfe asmuch as he can,
that a fewe deuide among them selfes
the whole riches, be there neuer so
uche abundaunce and stoore, there to
e residewe is lefte lacke and pouer-
e . And for the moste parte it chaun-
h, that this latter sorte is more wor-
ye to enioye that state of wealth, then
e other be: bycause the ryche men be
uetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On
e other parte the poore be lowly, sim
e, and by theire daylye laboure more
ofitable to the common welthe then
them selfes. Thus I doe fullye per-
ade me selfe, that no equall and iuste
stributiō of thinges can be made, nor
at perfecte wealthe shall euer be a-
ong mē, onles this propriety be exiled
bannished. But so long as it shal cōti
w, so lōg shal remaine amōg the most
best part of men the heuy, and ineuita

ble burden of pouerty and wretchedne
Whiche, as I graunte that it maye b
sumwhat eased, so I vtterly denye tha
it can wholy be take away. For if ther
were a statute made, that no man shoul
possesse aboue a certeine measure
grounde, and that no man shoulde har
in his stocke aboue a prescripte and ap
pointed some of money: if it were b
certein lawes decreed, that neither th
Kinge shoulde be of to greate powe
neither the people to haute & wealth
and that offices shoulde not be obte
ned by inordinate suite, or by brybes a
gyftes: that they shoulde neither
bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde
nedeful for the officers to be at any c
or charge in their offices: for so occa
on is geuen to theym by fraude a
rauin to gather vp their money again
and by reason of giftes & bribes the of
ces be geuen to rich men, which shoul
rather haue bene exercited of wise me
by such lawes I say, like as sicke bod
that be desperat & past cure, be wont
cõtinual good cherissing to be kept a
botched vp for a time: so these euels al

mig

ight be lightened & mitigated. But ỹ
yet may be perfectly cured, & brought to
good and vpright state, it is not to be
ped for, whiles euery mā is maister of
s owne to him selfe. Yea and whyles
u goe aboute to doe youre cure of one
rte, you shall make bygger the sore
an other parte, so the healpe of one
useth anothers harme: forasmuche
nothinge can be geuen to anype
e, onles it be taken from an other.
ut I am of a contrary opinion (quod
) for me thinketh that men shal neuer
ere liue wealthelye, where all thin-
s be commen. For howe can there be
undaunce of gooddes, or of any thing,
here euery mā withdraweth his hāde
ō labour? whome the regarde of his
one gaines driueth not to worke, but
e hope that he hath in other mēs la-
yles maketh him slowthfull. Then
hen they be pricked with pouertye,
d yet no mā can by any lawe or right
kēd that for his owne, which he hathe
otten with the laboure of his owne
ndes, shal not there of necessitie be cō
nual sedition & blodeshed? Specially e

the authoritye and reuerence of ma
gistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche
what place it maye haue with such me
amonge whome is no difference, I can
not deuise. I maruel not (quod he) tha
you be of this opinio. For you conceau
in youre minde either none at al, or el
a verye false Image and similitude
this thing. But yf you had bene wit
me in Utopia, and had presentely
sene theire fashions and lawes, as
dyd, whyche liued there .v. yeares, a
moore, and wolde neuer haue comm
thence, but onlye to make that new la
de knowen here: Then doubtles y
wolde graunt, that you neuer sawe p
ple wel ordered, but onlye there. Sur
(quod maister Peter) it shalbe har
for you to make me beleue, that there
better order in that newe lande, then
here in these countreys, that wee k
we. For good wittes be aswel here
there: and I thinke oure commen we
thes be auncienter than theires: w he
long vse and experience hath found
many thinges commodious for man
lyfe, besides that manye thinges be
amo

nong vs haue bene found by chaunce,
hiche no wytte coulde euer haue de-
ſed. As touchinge the auncientnes
uod he) of common wealthes, than
u might better iudge, if you had red
e hiſtories and cronicles of that land,
hich if we may beleue, cities were the-
, before men were here. Nowe
hat thinge ſoeuer hetherto by witte
th bene deuiſed, or found by chaunce,
at myght be alwel there as here. But
thinke verily, though it were ſo that
e did paſſe them in witte: yet in ſtudy,
trauaile, & in labourſome endeuoure
ey farre paſſe vs. For (as theire Chro
cles teſtifie) before our arriual there,
ey neuer hard any thing of vs, whome
ey cal the vltraequinoctialles: ſauing
at ones about. M. CC. yeares ago, a
erteine ſhyppe was loſt by the Ile of
topia whiche was driuen thether by
mpeſt. Certeine Romaines & Egypti-
ns were caſt on lande. whyche after
hat neuer wente thence. Marke nowe
hat profite they tooke of this one oc-
aſion through delygence and earneſte
rauaile. There was no crafte nor ſcy-

ence within the impire of Rome wher
of any profite could rise, but they either
lerned it of these straungers, or els o
them taking occasion to searche for it
founde it oute. So greate profite wa
it to them that euer anye wente thy
cher from hence. But yf anye lik
chaunce before this hath brought any
man from thence hether, that is a
quyte out of remembraunce, as this al
so perchauuce in time to come shalb
forgotten, that euer I was there. An
like as they quickelye, amoste at th
first meting, made theire owne, what so
euer is amonge vs wealthelye deuised
so I suppose it wolde be long before w
wolde receaue anythinge, that among
them is better instituted then among
vs. And this I suppose is the chief
cause whie theire common wealthe
be wyselyer gouerned, and doe flow
rish in more wealthe, then ours, thoug
we neither in wytte nor riches be thei
inferiours. Therefore gentle Maiste
Raphael (quod I) I praye you and be
seche you describe vnto vs the Ilande
And studye not to be shorte: but declar

largel

gely in order their groundes, their
ers, their cities, their people, their
nners, their ordinaūces, their lawes,
to be short al thinges, that you shal
ake vs desierous to knowe. And you
l thinke vs desierous to know what
uer we knowe not yet. There is no-
ing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier.
r all these thinges I haue freshe in
nd, But ꝑ matter requireth leasure.
t vs go in therfore (quod I) to dīner,
erward we wil bestowe the time at
r pleasure. Content (quod he) be it.
o we went in and dyned. Whē dinner
as done, we came into the same place
ain, & sate vs downe vpon the same
nche, commaunding oure seruauntes
at no man should trouble vs. Then
and Maister Peter Giles desiered
aister Raphael to performe his pro-
se. He therefore seing vs desirous &
illing to harken to him, when he had
t stil and pansed a litle while, musing
nd bethinkinge himselfe, thus he be-
an to speake.

The end of the Firste boke.

The

The seconde

boke of the cōmunication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concer-nyng the best state of a commō wealth, conteyninge the discription of Utopia, with a large declaration of the poli-tike gouernement, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

The site and fashion of the newe ylande Utopia.

The Iland of Uto-pia, conteynethe i breadthe in the mi del parte of it (fo there it is brodest C C. miles. Whic bredthe continuet throughe the most parte of the lande Sauing that by lit and litle it commeth in, and wareth na rower tawardes both the endes. Whic fetching about a circuite or compasse U C Miles, do fassion ye whole Ilan like to ye new mone. Betwene these tw corners the sea runneth in, diuidyn

ther

em a sōder by the distaūce of .xi miles there aboutes, & there surmountethe to a large & wyde sea, which by reasō at the land on enery side cōpassethe it out, and shiltreth it frō the windes, not roughe, nor mounteth not with eat waues, but almost floweth quiet-e, not muche vnlike a greate standinge owle: & maketh welnieghe all the spa- within the bellye of the lande in ma-er of a hauen: and to the greate com-oditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth shyppes towardes euerye parte of he lande. The forefrontes or frontiers f the .ij. corners, what with fordes and helues, and what with rockes be verye eoperdous & daungerous. In the mid-le distaunce betwene them bothe stan-eth vp aboue the water a great rocke, which therfore is nothing perillous by-cause it is in sight. Upō the top of this rocke is a faire & a strōg tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of mē. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde vn-der the water, which therfore be daūge rous. The channelles be kuowen one-ly to thēselfes. And therfore it seldome chaunceth

A place naturally fenced under the but one garrison.

chaunceth that anye straunger onele
he be guided by an Utopian can come t
to this hauen. In so muche that they
theselues could scarselye entre without
ieoperdie, but that theire way is direct
ted & ruled by certaine lande marke
stãding on the shore. By turninge, trai
latinge, & remouinge thies markes int
other places they maye destroye their
enemies nauies, be they neuer so many
The out side or vtter circuite of ỹ lan
is also ful of hauens, but the landing t
so surely fenced, what by nature, & wha
by workemanshyp of mans hand, that
fewe defenders maye dryue backe ma
ny armies. Howbeit as they saye, at
as the fashion of the place it selfe doth
partely shewe, it was not euer compa
sed about with the sea. But kyng Uto
pus, whose name, as cõquerour the Ilã
beareth (For before his tyme it we
called Abrara) which also broughte th
rude & wild people to that excellẽt per
fection in al good fashions, humanity
& ciuile gẽtilnes, wherin they nowe go
beyond al ỹ people of the world: eue
his firste arriuinge and enteringe vpo
th

A politique deuise in the chaunging of land markes.

The Ilande of Utopia so named of kyng Utopus.

he lande, furthwith obteynynge the ictory, caused.xv. myles space of vp-ndyshe grounde, where the sea had o passage, to be cut and dygged vp. nd so brought the sea rounde aboute he lande. He set to this worke not on-y the inhabitauntes of the Ilande (be-ause they should not thinke it done in ontumelye and despyte) but also all is owne soldiours. Thus the worke eyng diuided into so greate a numbre f workemen, was with excedinge mar-elous spede dyspatched. In so muche hat the borderers, whiche at the firste egā to mocke, and to ieste at this vaine nterpryse, then turned theire derision o marueyle at the successe, and to feare There be in the Ilande liiii. large and aire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng ll together in one tonge, in lyke ma-ers, institucions, and lawes. They be ll set and situate a lyke, and in al poyn es fashioned alyke, as farforthe as the lace or plotte sufferethe.

Of these cities they that be nigheste to gether be, xxiiii. myles asonder. Againe here is none of them distaūte from the next

Many handes make light worke.

Cities in Vtopia.

Similitude causeth concorde.

A meane distaunce betwene citie and citie.

nexte aboue one dayes iorneye a fot
There com yearly to Amaurote out e
euery cytie.iij olde men wyse and wel
experienced,there to entreate and de
bate,of the commō matters of the lād
For this citie(because it standeth iust
in the middes of the Ilande, and t
therefore moste mete for the ambassa
dours of all partes of the realme) is ta
ken for the chiefe and heade citye. Th
precinctes and boundes of the shiere
be so commodiously appoynted out
and set fourthe for the cities,that non
of them all hathe of anye syde lesse the
xx.myles of grounde,and of some syd
also muche more,as of that part whe
the cities be of farther distaunce asu
der. None of the cities desire to enla
ge the boundes & limites of theire shi
res. For they counte them selfes rathe
the good husbandes, then the owne
of theire landes. They haue in the cou
trey in all partes of the shiere houses
fermes builded, wel appointed and fu
nyshed with all sortes of instrument
and tooles belongynge to husbandry
These houses be inhabited of the cit

The distribution of landes

But this now adaies is the grounde of all mischefe.

Husbandrye & tillage chefly & principally regarded and aduaunced.

3c

ns, whyche come thether to dwelle
course. No howsholde or ferme in
e countrey hath fewer then .xl. perso-
es men and wome, beside two bond-
en, whyche be all vnder the rule and
der of the good man, & the good wyfe
the house, beinge bothe verye sage,
screte, and auncient persones. And
ery .xxx. fermes or families haue one
ade ruler, whyche is called a Phi-
rche, being as it were a head baylyffe.
ut of euery one of these families or
rmes commeth euerye yeare into the
tie .xx. persones whiche haue conti-
wed .ij. yeres before in the countreye.
n theire place so manye freshe be sent
ether oute of the citie, whoe, of them
at haue bene there a yeare all readye,
d be therefore expert and conninge in
sbandry, shalbe instructed & taughte.
ud they the nexte yeare shall teache
her. This order is vsed for feare that
ther skarsenes of victualles, or some
her like incõmoditie should chaunce,
rought lacke of knowledge: yt they
ould be altogether newe, and freshe, &
nexperte in husbandrie. This maner

and

and fassion of yearelye chaunginge a
renewinge the occupiers of husba
drye, though it be solempne & custom
blye vsed, to thintent that no man sh
be constrayned againste his wil to c
tynewe longe in that harde and shar
kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them he
suche a pleasure aud delyte in husb
drye, that they obteyne a longer sp
of yeares. These husbandmen plo
and til the ground, and breede vp cat
& prouide & make ready woode, why
they carrye to the citie either by lan
or by water, as they maye moste c
uenyently. They brynge vp a gre
multitude of pulleyne, and that b
meruaylouse policye. For the henn
dooe not sytte vpon the egges: but
keepynge theym in a certayne equ
heate they brynge lyfe into them, a
hatche theym. The chykens, asso
as they be come oute of the shel, foll
men and women in steade of the henn
They brynge vp verye fewe horses: n
none, but very fearce ones: and th
for none other vse or purpose, but on
to exercyse theire youthe in rydyn

The dueties of men of husbandrye.

A straunge fassion in hatchinge and bringing vp of pulleyne.

The vse of horses.

nd feates of armes. For oxen be put o all the laboure of plowyng and dra- inge. Whiche they graunte to be not good as horses at a sodeyne brunte, nd (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet hey holde opinion, that oxen wil abide ud suffre muche more laboure, payne nd hardnes, then horses wil. And they hinke that oxen be not in daunger and ubiect vnto so many diseases, and that hey be kepte & mainteined with muche esse coste and charge: and finallye that hey be good for meate, when they be aft laboure. They sowe corne onelye or breade. For their drinke is eyther yne made of grapes, or els of apples, r peares, or els it is cleare water.

The vse of Oxen

Bread & drink.

nd many times meathe made of honey r licouresse sodde in water, for thereof hey hane great store. And though they nowe certeynlie (for they knowe it erfectly in dede) howe muche vitailes he citie wyth the whole countreye or hiere rounde aboute it doeth spende: et they sowe muche more corne, and ryed vp muche more cattell, then ser- eth for their owne vse, partynge the

A great discretion in sowing of corne.

ouerplus amõg their borderers, wh
soeuer necessarie thinges be lacking
the countrey, all suche stuffe they fet
out of the citie: where without any e
chaunge they easelye obteyne it of t
magistrates of the citie. For euery m
neth manie of them go into the citie
the holy daye. When theyr harueft d
draweth neare, and is at hande, the t
Philarches, which be the head office
and baliffes of husbandrie, sende wo
to the magistrates of the citie what
bre of harueft men is nedefull to
sente to them oute of the citie. T
whiche companye of harueft men
beynge readye at the daye
appoynted, almoft in one
fayre daye dispacheth
all the harueft
woorke.

Mutual helpe quickely dispat cheth.

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.

AS for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth thē all: they be al so like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I ll describe therefore to you one or er of them, for it skilleth not great- which: but which rather then Amau e? Of them all this is the worthiest of most dignitie. For the residew owledge it for the head citie, because re is the counsell house. Nor to me e of them all is better beloued, as erin I liued fiue whole yeares toge r. The citie of Amaurote standeth on the side of a lowe hill in fashyon nost foure square. For the breadth of eginneth a litle beneth the toppe of

The description of Amaurote the chiefe Citie in Vtopia.

the hill, and still continueth by ye sp
of two miles, vntill it come to the
uer of Anyder. The length of it, wh
lieth by the ryuers syde, is sumwh
more. The riuer of Anyder riseth fo
and twentie myles aboue Amaur
out of a litle springe. But beynge
creased by other smale riuers and b
kes that runne into it, and among
ther two sumwhat byggeōs, before
citie it is halfe a mile broade, and f
ther broader. And fortie myles beyo
the citie it falleth into the Ocean
By all that space that liethe betw
the sea and the citie, and certen my
also aboue the citie the water ebbet
floweth sixe houres together wit
swift tide. Whan the sea floweth in
the length of thirtie miles it filleth
the Anyder with salte water, and
ueth backe the freshe water of the
uer. And sumwhat further it chaūg
the swetenes of the freshe water w
saltnes. But a litle beyonde that th
uer waxeth swete, and runneth for
the citie freshe and pleasaūt And w
the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe aga

The descriptiō of the riuer of Anyder.

The verie like in England in the riuer of Thamys.

freshe water foloweth it almoofte
n to the verie fal into the sea. Ther
eth a bridge ouer the riuer made not
piles or of timber, but of stonewarke
th gorgious and substaucial arches
that part of the citie that is farthest
m the sea: to the intent that shippes
ye passe alonge forbie all the side of
citie without let. They haue also
other riuer which in dede is not ve-
great. But it runneth gentely and
alsauntly. For it riseth euen oute of
same hill that the citie standeth vp:
and runneth downe a slope through
middes of the citie into Anyder.
d because it riseth a litle without
citie, the Amaurotians haue inclo-
the head springe of it, with stronge
ices and bulwarkes, and so haue ioy-
d it to the citie. This is done to the
ente that the water shoulde not be
pped, nor turned away, or poysoned,
heir enemies should chaūce to come
on them. From thence the water is
ciued and conueied downe in cannels
bricke diuers wayes into the lower
rtes of the citie. Where that cannot

Herein also doeth London agree with Amaurote.

The vse of freshe water.

be done, by reason that the place wy
not suffer it, there they gather ꝑ rai
water in great cisternes, whiche doe
them as good seruice. The citie is co
passed aboute with a heighe and thic
stone walle full of turrettes and bu
warkes. A drie diche, but deape, & bro
and ouergrowen with bushes, briers
and thornes, goeth aboute thre sides
quarters of the city. To the fourth
the riuer it selfe serueth for a ditche

The defence of towne walles.

Stretes.

The stretes be appointed and set ru
very commodious and handsome, be
for carriage, and also againste the w
des. The houses be of faire and gor
ous building, and on the strete side t
stande ioyned together in a long ro
through the whole streate without
partition or separation. The stretes
twentie foote brode. On the backe
of the houses through the whole le
of the streete, ye large gardens in
sed rounde aboute wyth the backe p
of the stretes. Euerye house ha
two doores, one into the streete, an
posterne doore on the backsyde
the garden. These doores be m

Buildinges & houses.

To euery dwel ling house a garden plotte adioyninge.

ith two leaues, neuer locked nor bol-
d, so easie to be opened, that they will
llowe the least drawing of a fynger,
d shutte againe alone. Who-
will, may go in, for there is nothinge
ithin the houses that is priuate, or a-
e mans owne. And euery tenth yeare
ey chaunge their houses by lot. They
t great store by their gardeins. In
em they haue vineyardes, all maner
fruite, herbes, and flowres, so plea-
unt, so well furnished, and so fynely
ept, that I neuer sawe thynge more
utefull, nor better trimmed in anye
lace. Their studie and deligence herin
ommeth non onely of pleasure, but al-
o of a certen strife and contention that
s betwene strete and strete, concerning
he trimming, husbanding, and furnis-
ing of their gardens: euerye man for
is owne parte. And verelye you shall
ot lightelye finde in all the citie anye
hinge, that is more commodious, ey-
her for the profite of the Citizens, or
or pleasure. And therfore it maye seme
hat the first founder of the citie myn-
ded nothing so much, as these gardens.

This geere smelleth of Plato his communitie.

The commoditie of gardens is commended also of Vergile

For they saye that kinge Utopus hi
selfe, euen at the first beginning appo
ted, and drewe furth the platte fourm
of the citie into this fashion and figu
that it hath nowe, but the gallant ga
nishinge, and the beautifull setting
furth of it, wherunto he sawe that o
mannes age would not suffice: that t
left to his posteritie. For their cron
cles, whiche they kepe written with a
deligente circumspection, conteinyn
the historie of .M.vii.C.lx. yeares, e
from the firste conquest of the Iland
recorde and witnesse that the houses
the beginning were very low, and lik
homely cotages or poore sheppard ho
ses, made at all aduentures of euer
rude pece of tymber, that came firste
hande, with mudde walles, and ridg
rooffes, thatched ouer with strawe.
But nowe the houses be curiously
buylded after a gorgious and gallan
sorte, with three storyes one ouer an
ther. The outsides of the walles
made either of harde flynte, or of pl
ster, or els of bricke, and the inner syd
be well strengthened w̄ tymber wor

he rooffes be plaine & flat, couered w
erten kinde of plaster that is of no
te, and yet so tempered that no fyre
n hurt or perishe it, and withstādeth
e violence of the wether better then
y leade. They kepe the winde oute of
eir windowes with glasse, for it is
er much vsed, and somhere also with
e linnen cloth dipped in oyle or am-
bre, and that for two commodities.

Glased or cauuased wingdowes.

For by thys meanes more
lighte commeth in, and
the winde is better
kepte oute.

¶ Of the magistrates.

Euerye thirtie families or fermes, chuese them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Sypho-graunte, & by a newer ame the Philarche. Euery ten Sypho rauntes, with al their thirtie families e vnder an officer whiche was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe

A tranibore in the Vtopiane

Longe signifieth a head or chief peere. A marvelous straunge fassion in chusinge magistrates.

Philarche. Moreouer as concerning the election of the Prince, all the Siphograuntes, which be in number. 20 first be sworne to chuese, him whō th thinke mooste mete and expediente: Then by a secrete election, they nam prince one of those. iiij. whome the peo ple before named vnto them. For ou of the. iiij. quarters of the citie there b iiij chosen, oute of euery quarter on to stande for the election: Whiche b put vp to the counsell. The princes o fice continueth all his life tyme, onel he be deposed or put downe for suspit of tirannie. They chuese the Tran bores yearly, but lightlie they chaun them not. All the other officers be b for one yeare. The Tranibores euer thyrde daye, and sumtimes, yf nede b oftener come into the counsell hou with the prince. Their counsell toncerninge the common wealthe. there be anye controuersies amon the commoners, whiche be verye fev they dispatch and ende them by and b They take euer. ij. Siphograuntes thē in coūsel, ⁊ eueri dai a new coup

Tyranny in a wel ordered wealepublique vtterlie to be abhorred.

Sutes ⁊ controuersies betwene partie, ⁊ partie furthwith to be ended which now a daies of a set purpose be vnreasonably delaied.

A

Against hastie and rashe decrees or statutes.

nd it is prouided, that nothinge uchinge the common wealthe shalbe nfirmed and ratified, onlesse it haue ne reasoned of and debated thre daies the counsell, before it be decreed. It deathe to haue anye consultation for e common wealthe oute of the coun- ll, or the place of the common electiō. his statute, they saye, was made to e entent, that the prince and Tran- ors might not easilye conspire toge- her to oppresse the people by tyrannie, nd to chaūge the state of the weale pu lik. Therfore matters of great weight nd importance be broughte to the ele- tiō house of the Siphograūtes, which pen the matter to their families. And fterwarde, when they haue consulted monge themselues, they shew their de ise to the counsell. Somtime the mat er is brought before the counsel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this cu- tome also the counsel vseth, to dispute or reason of no matter the same daye hat it is firste proposed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte sytting of the counsell. Because that no man

A custome worthye to be vsed these daies in our counsels & parliaments.

when

when he hath rashely there spoke tha
commeth to his tonges ende, shall the
afterwarde rather studye for reason
wherewith to defende & maynteine hi
first foolish sentence, than for the cõmo
ditie of ỹ cõmon wealth: as one rathe
willing the harme or hinderaũce of th
weale publike thẽ any losse or diminu
tion of his owne estimation. And a
one that would be ashamed (which is
verie foolishe shame) to be counted any
thing at the firste ouersene in the mat
ter. Who at the first ought to haue
spoken rather wyselye,
then hastely, or
rashlye.

Of Sciences, Crafte
and Occupations.

Husbandrie or tillage practised of all estates, which nowadayes is reiect vnto a fewe of the baleft fort.

HUsbandrie is a Scien
common to them all i
generall, bothe men an
women, wherein they b
all experte and cunnin
In this they be all in
structe

ructe euen from their youth: partelie
i their scholes with traditions and pre
:ptes, and partlie in the coũtrey nighe
he citie, brought vp as it were in play-
ige, not onely beholding the vse of it,
ut by occasion of exercising their bo-
ies practising it also. Besides husban
rie, whiche (as I saide) is common to
hem all, euerye one of them learneth
ne or other seueral and particular sci-
nce, as his owne proper crafte. That
s most commonly either clothworking
n, wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smi-
hes craft, or the carpẽters science. For
here is none other occupation that a-
ny number to speake of doth vse there.
For their garmentes, whiche through-
oute all the Ilande be of one fashion,
sauynge that there is a difference be-
twene the mans garmente and the wo-
mans, betwene the maried and the vn-
maried) and this one continueth for e-
uermore vnchaunged, semely and com-
ie to the eye, no lette to the mouynge
and weldynge of the bodye, also fytte
bothe for wynter and summer: as for
these garmentes (I saye) euery familie
maketh

Siences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the mayntenaunce of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure.

Similitude in apparrell.

No citizein without a science.

maketh their owne. But of the othe
foresaide craftes euerye man learnet
one. And not onely the mē, but also th
women. But the womē, as the weake
sort, be put to the easyer craftes: as t
worke wolle and flaxe. The more la
borsome sciences be committed to th
men. For the mooste part euery ma
is broughte vp in his fathers crafte.
For moste commonlye they be natura
lie therto bente and inclined. But yf
mans minde standeth to anye other, he i
by adoption put into a familye of tha
occupation, which he doth most fātasy
Whome not onely his father, but all
the magistrates do diligently loke to
that he be put to a discrete and an ho
nest householder. Yea, and if anye per
son, when he hath learned one crafte, b
desierous to learne also another, he
likewyse suffred and permitted.

To what occupation euerye one is naturallie inclined. that let him learne.

When he hathe learned bothe, he o
cupieth whether he wyll: onelesse th
citie haue more neade of the one, the
of the other. The chiefe and almooste
the onelye offyce of the Syphograun
tes is, to see & take hede, that no maun

idle: but that euerye one applye hys
s owne craft with earnest diligence.
d yet for all that, not to be wearied
m earlie in the morninge, to late in
e euenninge, with continuall worke,
e labouringe and toylinge beastes.
r this is worse then the miserable &
retched condition of bondmen.
hiche neuertheles is almoste eue-
e where the lyfe of workemen and
tificers, sauing in Utopia. For they
uidynge the daye and the nyghte into
iiii. iuste houres, appointe and assigne
elye sixe of those houres to worke,
fore noone, vpon the whiche they go
eighte to dinner: and after dinner, whē
ey haue rested two houres, then they
rke iii. houres & vpon that they go to
pper. About eyghte of the cloke in the
eninge (counting one of the clocke at
e firste houre after noone) they go to
de: eyght houres they geue to slepe.
l the voide time, that is betweue the
ures of worke, slepe, and meate, that
ey be suffered to bestowe, euery man
be liketh best him selfe. Not to thin-
nt that they shold mispend this time
in

Idel persones to be driuē out of the weale pub lique.

A moderation in the labours and toyle of artificers.

in riote, or slouthfulnes : but beyn
then licensed from the labour of th
owne occupations, to bestow the t
well and thriftelye vpon some other
ence, as shall please them. For it i
solempne custome there, to haue lect
res daylye early in the morning, whi
to be presente they onely be constrai
that be namelye chosen and appo
The studie of good literature ted to learninge. Howbeit a gre
multitude of euery sort of people, bo
men and women go to heare lectur
some one and some an other, as euer
mans nature is inclined. Yet, this n
withstãding, if any man had rather l
stowe this time vpon his owne occu
tion, (as it chaunceth in manye, wh
mindes rise not in the contemplat
of any science liberall) he is not lett
nor prohibited, but is also prayed a
commended, as profitable to the co
Playing after supper. mon wealthe. After supper they best
one houre in playe: in summer in th
gardẽs: in winter in their cõmẽ hall
where they dine and suppe. There th
exercise themselues in musike, or els
honest and wholsome communicatio

Di

iceplaye, and suche other folishe and rnicious games they know not. But ey vse. ij. games not much vnlike the esse. The one is the battell of num-rs, wherein one numbre stealethe a-aye another. The other is wherin vi s fyghte with vertues, as it were in ttel array, or a set fyld. In the which ame is verye properlye shewed, bothe e striffe aud discorde that vices haue nonge themselfes, and agayne theire nitye and concorde againste vertues: nd also what vices be repugnaunt to hat vertues: with what powre and rength they assaile them openlye: by hat wieles and subteltythey assaulte em secretelye: with what helpe and de the vertues resiste, and ouercome e puissaunce of the vices: by what aft they frustate their purposes: and nally by what sleight or meanes the e getteth the victory But here least ou be deceaued, one thinge you muste oke more narrowly vpon. For seinge ey bestowe but. vi. houres in woorke, erchaunce you maye thinke that the eke of some necessarye thinges hereof

But nowe a-daies diceplay is the pastime of princes.

Plaies or games also profitable.

maye ensewe. But this is nothinge so. For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the store and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceaue, if you wey and consider with your selfes how great a part of the people in other contreis lyue idle. First almost all women, whych be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied there most comonlye in their steade the men be idle. Besydes this how great and howe idle a companye is there of preistes, and religious men, as they call them? put thereto al ryche men, specialye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men. Take into this numbre also theire seruauntes: I meane all that flocke of stout bragging rushe bucklers. Ioyne to these also sturdy and valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe vnder the colour of some disease or sickenes. And truly you shal find thē much fewer then you thought, by whose labour al these thin-

ge

The kyndes & sortes of idle people.

Women.

Preistes and religiousmen.

Riche men and landed men.

Seruyngmen.

Sturdy and valiaunt beggers.

es are wrought, that in mens affaires
re now daylye vsed and frequented.
Nowe consyder with youre selfe, of
hese fewe that doe woorke, how fewe
e occupied in necessarye woorkes. For
where money beareth all the swinge,
here many vayne and superfluous oc-
upations must nedes be vsed, to serue
nly for ryotous superfluite, and vnho
est pleasure. For the same multitude
hat now is occupied in woork, if they
ere deuided into so fewe occupations
s the necessarye vse of nature requy-
th: in so greate plentye of thinges as
ē of necessity woulde ensue, doubtles
e prices wolde be to lytle for the arti
cers to mayntayne theire liuinges.

Wonderfull wittely spoke.

ut yf all these, that be nowe busied
out vnprofitable occupations, with
l the whole flocke of them that lyue
ellye and sloathfullye, whyche con-
me and waste euerye one of them
ore of these thinges that come by o-
er mens labour, thē. if of the woorke-
en themselfes doo: yf all these (I
ye) were sette to profytable occupa-
ons: you easelye perceaue howe

lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea an
to muche to stoore vs with all thinge
that maye be requisite either for nec
sitie, or for commoditye, yea or for ple
sure, so that the same pleasure be trew
and natural. And this in Utopia th
thinge it selfe maketh manifeste an
playne. For there in all the citye, wit
the whole contreye, or shere adioyni
to it scaselye. 500. persons of al ỹ who
numbre of mẽ and women, that be ne
ther to olde, nor to weake to worke, b
licensed and discharged from labour
Amonge them be the Siphograunte
(whoe thoughe they be by the lawe
exempte and priuileged from labour
yet they exempte not themselfes: t
the intent they may the rather by thei
example prouoke other to worke. Th
same vacation from labour do they al
so enioye, to whome the people persu
ded by the commendation of the prie
stes, and secrete election of the Sipho
grauntes, haue geuen a perpetual licke
from loboure to learninge. But if an
one of them proue not accordinge t
the expectation and hoope of him ton

ceaseth

Noe almuche as the magistrates liue idelly.

:aued, he is forthwith plucked backe
o the compauy of artificers. And con-
'arye wise, often it chaunceth that a
ndicraftes man doth so earnestly be-
owe his vacaunte and spare houres
learninge, and throughe diligence so
:ofyteth therin, that he is take frō his
ndy occupation, & promoted to the
mpany of the learned. Oute of this
dze of the learned be chosen ambassa-
ours, priestes, Tranibozes, and final-
e the prince him selfe. Whome they
theire olde tonge cal Barzanes, and
y a newer name, Adamus. The resi-
twe of the people being neither ydle,
oz yet occupied about vnprofitable ex
rcises, it may be easely iudged in how
we houres how muche good woorke
y thē may be doone & dispatched, to-
oardes those thinges ỹ I haue spoken
f. This commodity they haue also a-
oue other, ỹ in the most part of neces-
'arye occupations they neade not so
nuch worke, as other nations doe. For
irst of all ỹ buildinge oz repayringe of
pouses asketh euerye where so manye
nens continual labour, bicause ỹ the

Onely learned men called to offices.

How to auoyd excessiue cost in buildings.

vnthrifty heire suffereth ỹ houses that his father buylded in contyneuaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte haue vpholden with lytle coste, hys successoure is constreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his greate charge. Yea manye tymes also the howse that stoode one man in muche moneye, another is of so nyce and soo delycate a mynde, that he setteth nothinge by it. And it beynge neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldethe vppe another in an other place with no lesse coste and chardge. But amongst the Utopians, where all thinges be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye, it verye seldom chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte to buyld an house vpon. And they doo not only finde spedy and quicke remedies for præsẽt faultes: but also preuente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continewe and laste verye longe with litle labour and smal reparations: in so much that this kind of Woorkmen somtimes

hau

iue almoſt nothinge to doo. But that
ey be cõmaunded to hewe timbre at
une, and to ſquare and trimme vp ſto-
s, to the intente that if anye woorke
aunce, it may the ſpedelier riſe. Now
yr in theire apparell, marke (I praye
u) howe few woorkmen they neade.
yrſte of al, whyles they be at woorke,
ey be couered homely with leather
ſkinnes, that will laſt. vii. yeares.
hen they go furthe abrode they caſte
õ them a cloke, whych hydeth the o-
er homelye apparel. Theſe clookes
rough out the whole Iland be all of
ne coloure, and that is the natural
loure of the wul. They therefore do
ot only ſpend much leſſe wullẽ clothe
yen is ſpente in other contreis, but
ſo the ſame ſtandeth them in muche
ſſe coſte. But lynen clothe is made
ith leſſe labourc, and is therefore
adde more in vſe. But in lynen cloth
nlye whytenelle, in wullen only clen-
ynes is regarded. As for the ſmal-
eſſe or fineneſſe of ẏ threde, that is no
hinge paſſed for. And this is the
aule wherfore in other places, iiii. or v

How to leſſen the charge in apparel.

clothe

clothe gownes of dyuers coloures, and
as manye like cootes be not enoughe
for one man. Yea and yf he be of the de-
licate & nyce sorte, x. be to fewe: where-
as there one garmente wyl serue
man mooste commenlye. ij. yeares. Fo
Whie shoulde he desyre moo? seinge y
he had the, he should not be the better
hapte or couered from colde, neither i
his apparel anye whitte the comlyer.
Wherefore, seinge they be all exercy
sed in profitable occupations, and tha
fewe artificers in the same craftes b
sufficiente, this is the cause that plen-
tye of all thinges beinge among them
they doo sometymes bringe forthe a
innumerable companye of people t
amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be br
ken. Many times also, when they hau
no suche woorke to be occupied aboute
an open proclamatiō is made, that the
shall bestowe fewer houres in woork
For the magistrates doe not exercis
theire citizens againste theire wille
in vnneadefull laboures. For whie i
the institution of that weale publique
this ende is onelye and chiefely preten

De

and mynded, that what time maye
ssibly be spared from the necessarye
upacions and affayres of the com-
n wealth, all ỹ the citizeins shoulde
thdrawe from the bodely seruice to
free libertye of the minde, and gar
nisshinge of the same. For herein
they suppose the felicitye of
this life to consiste.

¶ Of theire liuinge & mutual conuersation together.

But nowe will I declare
how the citizens vse thē
selfes one towardes ano
ther: what familiar oc-
cupieng and entertey ne-
ment, there is amonge
e people, and what fassiō they vse in
e distribution of euery thing. Firste
ye city cōsisteth of familles, the fami-
es most commonlye be made of kinre-
es. For the women, when they be ma-
yed at a lawefull age, they goo into
heire husbādes houses. But the male
ilozē, w̄ al the whole male offspringe

continewe still in their owne family
be gouerned of the eldest and auncie
test father, onles he dote for age : fo
thē the next to him in age, is placed
his rowme. But to thintēt ꝑ ꝓscrip
nūber of the citezens shoulde neithe
decreale, nor aboue measure increas
it is ordeined that no familie which i
euerye citie be. vi. thousād in the whe
le, beſydes thē of the contrey, shall
ones haue fewer childrē of the age o
xiiii. yeares or there about thē. x. or n
then. xvi. for of chyldrē vnder this ag
no nūbre cā be ꝓscribed or appoīte
This measure or nūbre is easely obs
ued & kept, by putting thē that ī full
families be aboue the nūber into fam
lies of smaller increase, But if chañ
be that in ꝑ whole citie the store e
crease aboue the iust nūber, therewi
they fil vp ꝑ lacke of other cities. B
if so be ꝑ the multitude throughout t
whole Ilande passe & excede the de
number, then they chuese out of eue
citie certein citezēs, & build vp a tow
vnder their owne lawes ī the next l
where the inhabitauntes haue muc

The numbre of citizens.

wa

te & vnoccupied ground, receauing
of the same cõtrey people to thẽ,
ey wil ioyne and dwel with them.
ey thus ioyning & dwelling together
aselye agree in one fassiõ of liuing, &
; to the great wealth of both the peo
s. For they so bringe the matter a:
t by theire lawes, that the ground
ich before was neither good nor pro
ble for the one nor for the other, is
be sufficiente and fruteful enoughe
them both. But if the inhabitaun:
of that lande wyl not dwell with
n to be ordered by their lawes, thẽ
y dryue them out of those boundes
ich they haue limited, and apointed
; for them selues. And if they resiste
d rebel, then they make warre a:
nst them. For they counte this the
ste iuste cause of warre, when anye
ople holdethe a piece of grounde
yde and vacaunt to no good nor pro
able vse, kepyng other from the vse
d possessiou of it, whiche notwith-
ndyng by the lawe of nature ought
ereof to be nourysshed & relieued. If
ye chaunce do so muche diminishe

the

the number of any of theire cities, tha
it cannot be fylled vp agayne, withou
the diminishynge of the iust numbre o
the other cyties (whiche they say chau
ced but twyse synce the beginnyng o
the lande throughe a greate pestilent
plage) then they fulfyll and make v
the numbre with cytezens fetched ou
of theire owne forreyne townes, fo
they had rather suffer theire forreyn
townes to decaye and peryshe, then an
cytie of theire owne Ilande to b
diminished. But nowe agayne to th
conuersation of the cytezens amon
themselfes. The eldeste (as I sayd
rulethe the familye. The wyfes b
ministers to theire husbandes, t
children to theire parentes, and to b
shorte the yonger to theire elders. E
rye Cytie is deuided into foure equa
partes or quarters. In the myddes
euery quarter there is a market pla
of all maner of thinges. Thether t
workes of euery familie be brought
to certeyne houses. And euerye kyn
of thing is layde vp seuerall in bern
or store houses, From hence the fath

So might we well be discharged and eased of the ydle cōpany of seruyngmen.

euerye familye, or euery houſholder
chethe whatſoeuer he and his haue
ade of, and carieth it away with him
ithout money, without exchaunge,
ithout any gage, pawne, or pledge.
or whye ſhoulde any thing be denyed
to him? ſeynge there is abundaunce
all thinges, and that it is not to bee
ared, leſte anye man wyll aſke more
en he neadeth. For whie ſhould it be
oughte that that man woulde aſke
ore then anough, which is ſewer ne
r to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyuinge creatures either feare of
ke dothe cauſe couetouſnes and ra-
ne, or in man only pryde, which coun
h it a glorious thinge to paſſe and ex
other in the ſuperfluous and vayne
entation of thinges. The whyche
nde of vice amonge the Utopians
haue no place. Nexte to the market
aces that I ſpake of, ſtande meate
arkettes: whether be brought not on
all ſortes of herbes, and the fruites
trees, with breade, but alſo fiſhe, &
maner of .iiii. footed beaſtes, and
lde foule that be mans meate. But
firſte

The cauſe of couetous and extortion.

firſt the fylthynes and ordure therof
clene walhed awaye in the renning
ryuer without the cytie in places a
poynted mete for the ſame purpoſe.
From thence the beaſtes be brought
kylled, and cleane waſched by the ha
des of theire boudemen. For they pe
mitte not their frie citezens to acc
ſtome them ſelfes to the killing of b
ſtes, through the vſe whereof they th
be, clemencye the gentelleſte affectio
of oure nature by lytle and lytle to b
caye and perylhe. Neither they ſuff
anye thinge that is fylthye, lotheſom
or vncleniye, to be broughte into t
cytie, leaſt the ayre by the ſtenche the
of infected and corrupte, ſhoulde cau
peſtilente diſeaſes. Moreouer euery
ſtrete hath certeyne great large halle
ſett in equal diſtaunce one from an
ther, euerye one knowen by a ſeuera
name. In theſe halles dwell the S
phograuntes. And to euerye one of th
ſame halles be apoynted xxx. familie
on either ſide. xb The ſtewardes of e
rye halle at a certayne houre come
ſo the meate marketles, where they
ceyu

Of the ſlaughter of beaſtes we haue learned mãſlaughter.

Fylth & ordure bring the infection of peſtilence into Cyties.

yue meate accordinge to the number
their halles. But first and chieflie of
respect is had to the sycke, that be
red in the hospitalles. For in the cir
ite of the citie, a litle without ye wal
s, they haue .iiii. hospitalles, so bigge
wyde, so ample, & so large, that they
y seme .iiij. litle townes, which were
uised of ye bignes partely to thintent
e sycke, be they neuer so many in nũ-
e, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte,
d therfore vneasely, & incõmodious-
: & partely that they which were ta-
n & holden with contagious disea-
, suche as be wonte by infection to
epe from one to an other, myght be
de a part farre from the cõpany of ye
idue These hospitalles be so wel ap
inted, and with al thinges necessary
health so furnished, & more ouer so
igẽt attẽdaũce through the cõtinual
esence of cũning phisitians is geuen,
at though no man be sent thether a-
inst his will, yet notwithstandinge
ere is no sicke persone in al the citie,
at had not rather lye there, thẽ at ho
in his owne house. When the ste-
warde

Care, diligẽce and attendãce about the sicke

warde of the sicke hath receiued suc
meates as the phisitians haue prescr
bed, then the beste is equallye deuid
among the halles, according to the c
pany of euery one, sauing that there
had a respect to the prince, the bysho
the tranibours, and to ambassadours
all straũgers, if there be any, which
verye fewe and seldome. But they al
when they be there, haue certeyne se
rall houses apointed and prepared f
thẽ. To these halles at ye set houres
dinner & supper cõmeth all the who
Siphograũtie or warde, warned by
noyse of a brasẽ trũpet: except suche
be sicke in ye hospitalles, or els in th
owne houses. Howbeit no man is p
hibited or forbid, after the halles be s
ued, to fetch home meate out of ye m
ket to his own house, For they knol
that no man wyl doe it without a ca
se reasonable. For thoughe no man
prohibited to dyne at home, yet no m
doth it willyngly: because it is cou
ted a pointe of smal honestie. And al
it were a follye to take the payne
dresse a badde diner at home, whẽ th

Euery man is at his libertie, so that nothing is done by compulsion.

ma

ıay be welcome to good and fyne fare
ɔ neighe hande at the hall. In this hal
l vile seruice, all slauery, and drudge-
e, with all labourſome toyle, & base
ıſines is done by bondemen. But the
omen of euery family by course haue
e office and charge of cookerie for ſe-
inge and dreſſinge the meate, and or-
ringe all thinges therto belongyng.
hey ſit at three tables or moe, accor-
nge to the numbre of their company.
he men ſitte vpon the bench next the
all, and the women againſte them on
e other ſide of the table, that yf anye
deyne euyll ſhould chaunce to them,
manye tymes happeneth to women
th chylde, they maye riſe wythoute
ouble or diſturbaunce of anye bodie,
d go thence into the nurcerie. The
rceis ſitte ſeuerall alone with theyr
unge ſuckelinges in a certaine par-
ıre appointed & deputed to the ſame
rpoſe, neuer withoute fire & cleane
ter, nor yet wout cradels, that whē
y wyll they maye laye downe the
unge infantes, and at theyr pleaſure
e them oute of their ſwathynge clo-

Women bothe dreſſe & ſerue the meate.

Nourceis.

thes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Euery mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or sycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wiues of the Syphograuntes quyckelye prouyde a nource. And that is not hard to be done. For they that can doo it profer thēselues to no seruice so gladlye as to that. Because that there thy kinde of pitie is muche praysed: and the chylde that is nourished, euer after taketh his nource for his owne natural mother. Also amonge the nourceis, sytte all the children that be vnder the age of v. yeares. All the other chyldren of bothe kyndes, aswell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of marye age, do eyther serue at the tables, or else if they be to yonge therto, yet they stāde by with maruailous silence. The whiche is geuen to them from the table they eate, and other seuerall dynnes tyme they haue none. The Siphograunte and his wife sitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as they is counted the honorablest place, and

Nothing soner prouoketh men to well doyng then praise and cōmendation.

The education of yonge children.

becau

rcause from thence all the whole com
anie is in their sight. For that table
andeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of
he hall To them be ioyned two of the
uncientest and eldest. For at euerye
able they sit foure at a meesse. But yf
here be a church stãding in ẏ Sypho-
rauntie or warde, then the priest and
is wife sitteth with the Siphograũt,
s chiefe in the cõpany. On both sydes
f them sit yonge men, and nexte vnto
hẽ againe olde men. And thus through
ut all the house equall of age be sette
ogether, & yet be mixt & matched with
nequal ages. This, they say, was or-
eyned, to the intent that the sage gra-
itie and reuerẽce of the elders should
epe the yongers from wanton licence
f wordes and behauioure. Forasmuch
s nothynge can be so secretlye spoken
done at the table, but either they
hat sit on the one side or on the other
uste nedes perceaue it. The dishes be
ot set down in order frõ the first place
ut all the olde men (whose places be
arked with some speciall token to be
nowẽ) be first serued of their meate, &

The yong mixed with their elders.

Olde men regarded and reuerenced.

then the residue equally. The old men deuide their deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche syde of them. Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuertheles equall cõmoditie cõmeth to euery one. They begin euerye dinner & supper of reding sumthing ẏ perteneth to good maners & vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greued therwith. Hereof thelders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor vnpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselues with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the ponge men, yea, and purposelye prouoke them to talke, to thentent that they may haue a proofe of euery mans wit, & towardnes or disposition to vertue, which cõmõlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew and vtter it selfe. Their diners be verie shorte: but their suppers be sumwhat lenger, because that after dyner foloweth labour, after supper slepe and natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthful

This nowe a dayes is obserued in oure vniuersities.

Talke at the table.

This is repugnaunt to the opinion of our phisitions.

ealthfull digestion. No supper is pas-
d without muslicke. Nor their ban-
ettes lacke no conceytes nor ionketes.
They burne swete gummes and spices
perfumes, and pleasaũt smelles, and
ynckle aboute swete oyntementes &
aters, yea, they leaue nothing vndone
at maketh for the cheringe of the cõ-
anye. For they be muche enclined to
is opinion: to thinke no kinde of plea
re forbydden, whereof commeth no
rme. Thus therfore and after this
t they liue togethers in the citie, but
the countrey they that dwell alone
re from any neighboures, do dyne &
ppe at home in their owne houses.
or no familie there lacketh any kinde
of victualles, as from whom com
meth all that the citezens
eate and lyue by.

Muslick at the table.

Pleasures with out harme not discõmẽdable.

Of their iourneyng or trauayling abrode, with diuers other matters cunninglye reasoned, and wyttilye discussed.

But if any be desierous to visite either their freendes dwelling in another citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easilie obteyne licence of their Siphograunte and Trantbores, onlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente forth togethers with their princes letters, which do testifie that they haue licence to go the iourney, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wagen geuen them, with a common bondman which driueth the oxen, & taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their companie, they sende home the wagen again, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they carye nothyng forth with them, yet in all their iourn

the

ey lack nothing. For wherſoeuer they
me, they be at home. If they tary in a
ace longer then one daye, thā there e-
ry one of thē falleth to his owne oc-
pation, & be very gētilly entertained
the workemē & cōpanies of the ſame
aftes. If any man of his owne heade
without leaue, walke out of his pre-
nct & boūdes, takē without the prin-
s letters, he is brought againe for a
gitiue or a runaway w̄ great ſhame
rebuke, & is ſharpely puniſhed. If he
takē in that fault againe, he is punī-
ed with bōdage. If anye be deſirous
walke abrode into the feldes, or into
e coūtrey ỹ belongeth to the ſame ci-
e that he dwelleth in, obteininge the
ood will of his father, & the cōſente of
s wife, he is not prohibited. But into
hat part of ỹ cōtrei ſoeuer he cōmeth
hath no meat geuē him vntil he haue
rought out his forenones taſke, or diſ
atched ſo muche worke, as there is wōt
be wrought before ſupper. Obſer-
īg this law & cōditiō, he may go whe
her he wil w̄in the boūdes of his own
itie. For he ſhalbe no les priſable to ỹ

citie, thē if he were within it. Now yo
se how litle liberte they haue to loite
howe they can haue no cloke or pretē
to ydlenes. There be neither wiueta
uernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, no
anye occasion of vice or wickednes, n
lurkinge corners, no places of wycke
counsels or vnlawfull assembles. Bu
they be in the present sighte, and vnde
the eies of euery man. So that of nece
sitie they must either apply their acc
stomed labours, or els recreate themsl
ues with honest & laudable pastimes.
This fashion & trade of life, being vse
amonge the people, it cannot be chose
but that they muste of necessitie hau
store and plentie of all thinges. And s
yng they be all therof parteners equa
lie, therefore can no man there be poo
or nedie, In the counsell of Amauro
whether, as I said, euery citie sendet
three men a pece yearly, assone as it i
perfectly knowē of what thinges the
is in euery place plentie, & againe whe
thinges be skāt in any place: incōtin
the lacke of the one is perfourmed an
filled vp w̄ the aboundaunce of the o

O holy comm̄ wealth, and of Christians to be followed.

Equalitie is the cause that euery mā hath enoughe.

r. And this they do frely without a-
e benefite, taking nothing againe of
, to whō ȳ thinges is geuē, but those
ies that haue geuen of their store to
other citie that lacketh, requiring
thing againe of ȳ same citie, do take
he thinges as they lacke of an other
ie, to the which they gaue nothinge.
o the whole plaude is as it were one
nilie, or housholde. But when they
ue made sufficient prouision of store
themselues (which they thinke not
ne, vntil they haue prouided for two
res folowinge, because of the vncer-
tie of the next yeares prosse) then of
ose thinges, wherof they haue abun-
unce, they carie furth into other coū
is great plentie: as grayne, honnie,
ille, flaxe, woode, madder, purple di-
felles, ware, tallowe, lether, and ly-
nge beastes. And the seuenth parte of
these thynges they geue franckelye
d frelie to the pore of that countrey.
he residewe they sell at a reasonable
d meane price. By this trade of traf
que or marchaundise, they bring into
eir own cōtrey, not only great plēty
of

A common wealthe is nothing elles but a great housholde.

The traffiques and marchaundise of the Vtopians.

of golde and syluer, but also all such thynges as they lacke at home, whi is almoste nothinge but Iron. And b reason they haue longe vsed this trai nowe they haue more aboundaunce these thinges, then anye man wyll b leue. Nowe therfore they care not wh ther they sell for readye money, or e vpon truste to be payed at a daye, a to haue the moste parte in debtes.

In all thinges and aboue all thynges to their cõmunitie thet haue an eye.

But in so doynge they neuer follow the credence of priuat men: but the a raunce or warrauntise of the whole tie, by instrumentes & writinges ma in that behalfe accordingly. When t daye of paiement is come and expire the citie gathereth vp the debte of t priuate debtoures, & putteth it into t common bore, and so longe hathe t vse and profite of it, vntill the Mer ans their creditours demaunde it. T moste parte of it they neuer aske. F

By what politie money may be in lesse estimation.

that thynge whiche is to them no p fite to take it from other, to whom it profitable: they thinke it no righte n conscience. But if the case so stand, th they must lende part of that money

other people, then they require
ye debte: or when they haue warre.
to the whiche purpose onelye they
e at home all the treasure, whiche
y haue, to be holpen and socoured
it either in extreame ieopardyes, or
uddeine daungers. But especiallye
chiefelie to hiere therewith, and
t for vnreasonable greate wayges,
iunge soldiours. For they hadde ra-
er put straungers in ieopardie, then
ye owne countreyemen: knowynge
at for money ynoughe, their enemyes
selues many times may be boughte
d solde, or elles throughe treason be
te togethers by the eares amonge
emselues. For this cause they kepe
inestimable treasure. But yet not
a treasure: but so they haue it, & vse
as in good faythe I am ashamed to
we: fearinge that my wordes shall
t be beleued. And this I haue more
use to feare, for that I knowe howe
ffucultlie and hardelye I meselfe
ould haue beleued an other man tel-
inge the same, if I hadde not presente
e sene it with mine owne eyes.

Yet is better either with money or by pollicie to avoyde warre, then with muche losse of mans bloud to fight.

O fine wytte.

For

For it muste neades be, that howe far
a thynge is dissonaunt and disagreei
from the guise and trade of the hearer
so farre shall it be out of their belefe
Howebeit, a wise and indifferent e
mer of thynges, will not greatlye m
ueill perchaunce, seynge all they? oth
lawes and customes do so muche d
ferre from oures, yf the vse also of go
and syluer amonge them be applied,
ther to their owne fashyons, than
oures. I meane in that they occu
not money themselues, but kepe it
that chaunce, whiche as it maye happ
so it maye be, that it shall neuer co
to passe. In the meane time golde a
syluer, whereof money is made, th
do so vse, as none of them doethe m
esteme it, then the verye nature of t
thinge deserueth. And then who doe
not playnelye se howe farre it is vnd
Iron: as without the whiche men c
no better lyue then without fiere a
water. Whereas to golde and silu
nature hath geuen no vse, that we m
not well lacke: if that the follye of m
hadde not sette it in higher estimati

Golde worse eyen ygon as touchynge the necessarie vse therof.

the rarenesse sake. But of the
trarie parte, nature as a moost ten
and louynge mother, hathe placed
beste and moost necessarie thinges
n abroade: as the ayere, the water,
the yearth it selfe. And hathe re-
ues and hyd farthest from vs vayne
vnprofitable thinges. Therefore
hese metalles amonge them shoulde
faste locked vp in some tower, it
ght be suspected, that the prince and
counsell (as the people is euer foo-
nelie ymaginynge) intended by some
tiltie to deceaue the commons, and
ake some profite of it to themselues.
rthermore if they shold make ther
plate and such other finelie and cun
glie wroughte stuffe: if at anye time
y should haue occasion to breake it:
melte it againe, therewith to paye
ir souldiers wages, they see and per
ue verye well, that men woulde be
he to parte from these thinges, that
y ones begonne to haue pleasure e
ite in. To remedie all this they haue
nde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is
reable to all their other lawes and

cu-

customes, so it is frō ours, where go
is so much set by, and so diligētly ke
very farre discrepant and repugnau
and therfore vncredible, but onelye
them that be wise. For where as t
eate and drinke in earthen & glasse v
selles, whiche in dede be curiouslye
properlie made, and yet be of very s
value: of golde and syluer they m
commonly chaumber pottes, and ot
vesselles, that serue for moste vile v
not onely in their common halles,
in euery mans prauate house. Furth
more of thesame mettalles they m
greate chaines, fetters, & gieues wh
in the tie their bondmen. Finally v
soeuer for anye offense be infamed
their eares hange rynges of gol
vpon their fyngers they weare ryn
of golde, and aboute their neckes c
nes of golde: & in conclusion their h
des be tied aboute with gold. Thus
al meanes possible thei procure to h
golde & siluer among them in repro
and infamie. And these metalles, wh
other nations do as greuously and
sowefullye forgo, as in a manner th
ow

O wonderfull contumelie of golde.

Golde the reprochful badge of infamed persons.

ne liues: if they should altogethers
ones be take from the Utopians, no
i there would thinke that he had lost
worth of one farthing. They gather
o pearles by the sea side, & Diamon
s and carbuncles vpon certen rockes,
o yet they seke not for them: but by
unce finding them, they cut and po-
h them. And therwith thei deck their
ige infauntes. Whiche like as in the
st yeres of their childhod, they make
iche and be fonde and proude of such
amētes, so whē they be a litle more
owen in yeares and discretion, per-
uing that none but childrē do weare
ch toies and trifels: they lay them a-
ye euen of their owne shamefaste-
sse, wythoute anye byddynge of their
rentes: euen as oure chyldren, when
y ware bygge, doo caste awaye
ttes, brouches, and puppettes. Ther
e these lawes and customes, whiche
so farre differente from al other nat
ns, howe diuers fantasies also and
ndes they doo cause, dydde I ne-
r so playnelie perceaue, as in the Am
ssadoures of the Anemolians.

Gemmes and precious stones, toyes for ponge children to playe withall.

These

A very pleasaunt tale.

These Ambassadoures came to Am
rote whiles I was there. And beca
they came to entreate of great & we
tie matters, those three citizens ap
oute of euerie citie were comen t
ther before them. But all the Amb
dours of the nexte countreis, whi
had bene there before, and knewe
fashions and maners of the Utopia
amonge whome they perceaued no
noure geuen to sumptuous appar
silkes to be contemned, golde alse
be infamed and reprochful, were w
to come thether in verie homelye
simple araie. But the Anemolianes
cause they dwell farre thence, and
verie litle aquaintaūce with them:
ringe that they were all apparelle
like, and that verie rudely and hom
thinkinge them not to haue the thin
whiche they did not weare: being t
fore more proude, then wise: deter
ned in the gorgiousnes of their appa
to represente verye goddes, and w
the brighte shyninge and glitterynge
their gay clothing to dasell the eyes
the silie poore Utopians. So th
car

me in.iii. Ambassadours wͤ.c.seruaũ
s all apparelled in chaungeable co-
urs: the moste of them in silkes: the
mbassadours themselfes (for at home
their owne coũtrey they were noble
ẽ) in cloth of gold, wͤ great cheines of
old, wͤ golde hanginge at their eares,
ith gold ringes vpõ their fĩgers with
ouches & aglettes of gold vpõ theire
ppes, which glistered ful of peerles &
etious stones: to be short trimmed, &
ourned with al those thinges, which
nõg the vtopians were either the pu-
shemẽt of bondmen, or the reproche
infamed persones, or elles trifels for
nge childrẽ to playe withal. There-
re it wolde haue done a man good at
s harte to haue sene howe proudelye
ey displeyed theire pecockes fethers,
owe muche they made of theire payn-
d sheathes, and howe loftely they set
rth and aduaunced them selfes, when
ey compared their gallaunte appar-
ell with the poore rayment of the vto
iãs. For al the people were swarmed
rth into the stretes. And on the other
de it was no lesse pleasure to cõsider

howe muche they were deceaued, an
how farre they missed of their purpo
being contrary wayes take, then the
thought they should haue bene. For t
the eyes of all the vtopians, excepte v
ry fewe, which had bene in other cou
treys for some reasonable cause, al th
gorgeousnes of apparrel semed sham
full and reprocheful. In so muche th
they most reuerently saluted the vile
and most abiect of them for lordes: p
sing ouer the Ambassadoures themse
ues without any honour: iudging the
by their wearing of golden cheynes
be bondme. Yea you shoulde haue se
children also, that had caste away the
peerles and pretious stones, whe th
sawe the like sticking vpon the Amba
sadours cappes: digge and pushe the
mothers vnder the sides, saynge th
to them. Loke mother how great a l
for doth yet were peerles and precio
stoones, as though he were a litel ch
ful. But the mother, yea and that al
in good earnest: peace sone, saith she:
thinke he be some of the Ambassadou
fooles. Some founde faulte at the
gold

O wittie head

ldē cheines, as to no vse nor purpose, ing so smal and weake, that a bonde- man might easely breake them, and a- gayne so wyde and large, that when it eased him, he myght cast them of, and inne awaye at libertye whether he wulde. But whē the Ambassadoures dde bene there a daye or .ii. and sawe great abundaunce of gold so lyghte- esteimed, yea in no lesse reproche, thē was with them in honour: & besides at more golde in the cheines & gieues one fugitiue bondman, then all the stelye ornamentes of them .iii. was orth: they begaune to abate their cou ge, and for very shame layde away al at gorgeouse arraye, whereof theye ere so proud. And specyally whē they d talked familiarlye with the Utopi s, and had learned al theire fassions d opinions. For they marueyle that y men be so folyshe, as to haue de- e & pleasure in the doubteful glitte- nge of a lytil tryfelynge stone, which aye beholde anuye of the starres, elles the sonne it selfe.

Doubteful he calleth it, either in consi deration & respecte of coūter feite stones, or elles he calleth doubteful very littel worthe.

Or that anye man is so madde, as t
count hym selfe the nobler for the sma
ler or fyner threde of wolle, which sel
same wol (be it now in neuer so fyne
sponne threde) a shepe did ones wear
and yet was she all that time no othe
thing then a shepe. They maruelle all
that golde, whych of the owne natu
is a thinge so vnprofytable, is nowe
mouge all people in so hyghe estimat
on, that man hym selfe, by whome, y
and for the vse of whome it is so muc
set by, is in muche lesse estimation, t
the golde it selfe. In so muche that
lumpysshe blockehedded churle, a
A true saing & a wittie, whyche hathe no more wytte then a
asse, yea and as ful of noughtynes as
follye, shall haue neuertheles many
wyse and good men in subiectyon a
boudage, only for this, bycause he hat
a greate heape of golde, whyche yf
shoulde be taken from hym by any
fortune, or by some subtyll wyle a
cautels of the lawe, (whyche no les
then fortune dothe bothe raise vp t
lowe, and plucke downe the high
and be geuen to the moste vile slau
an

d abiect dryuell of all his housholde,
en shortely after he shal goo into the
uice of his seruaunt, as an augmen-
tiō nor ouerplus beside his money.
ut they muche more maruell at and
Howe muche more wirte is in the heades of the Utopianes thē of the common sorte of christianes.
test the madnes of them, whyche
those riche men, in whose debte and
auger they be not, do giue almost di-
ne honoures, for none other consider-
tion, but bicause they be riche: and
t knowing them to bee suche nigeshe
nny fathers, that they be sure as lōge
they liue, not the worthe of one far-
inge of that heape of gold shall come
them. These and such like opinions
ue they conceaued, partely by educa-
on, beinge brought vp in that commō
ealth, whose lawes and customes be
re different from these kindes of fol-
, and partely by good litterature and
arning. For though there be not ma-
in euery citie, which be exempte and
scharged of all other labours, and
ppointed only to learning, that is to
ye: suche in whome euen from theire
ery childhode they haue perceaued a
ngular towardnes, a fyne witte, and

a minde apte to good learning: yet al
in their childhode be instructe in lear
ninge. And the better parte of the peo
ple, bothe men and women through
oute all their whole lyfe doo bestow
in learninge those spare houres, whic
we sayde they haue vacante from be
delye laboures. They be taughte lear
ninge in theire owne natyue tong. Fo
it is bothe copious in woordes, ar
also pleasaunte to the eare: and for th
vtteraunce of a mans minde very pe
fecte and sure. The mooste parte of a
that syde of the woorde vseth the sam
langage, sauinge that amonge the T
topians it is synest and pureste, a
accordinge to the dyuersytye of t
contreys it is dyuersyfye alterede. A
all these Philosophers, whose nam
be beare famous in this parte of t
woorlde to vs knowen, before ou
cummynge thether not asmuche
the fame of aunye of them was cum
amonge them. And yet in Musik
Logike, Arythmetyke, and Ge
metrye they haue foumde oute in
manner all that oure auncient Ph
losophy

The studies and literature amonge the vtopianes.

Musike
Logike.
Arithmetike.
Geometrie

sophers haue tawghte. But as they
all thinges be almoste equal to oure
de auncyente clerkes, so oure newe
ogicians in subtyl inuentions haue
re passed and gone beyonde them.
or they haue not deuysed one of all
ose rules of restrictions, amplifi-
tions and suppositions, verye wit-
lye inuented in the small Logical-
s, whyche heare oure children in
ery place do learne. Furtheremore
ey were neuer yet hable to fynde ous
e seconde intentions: insomuche
at none of them all coulde euer see
an hymselfe in commen, as they cal
in, thoughe he be (as you knowe)
gger then euer was anye gyaunte,
a and poynted to of vs euen wyth
ir fynger. But they be in the course
the starres, and the mouynges of
e heauenly spheres verye expert and
unynge. They haue also wittely ex-
gitated and diuised instrumentes of
uers fashions: wherin is exactly com
ehended and conteyned the mouyn-
es and situations of the sonne, the
one, and of al the other starres, which

In this place semethe to be a nipping taunte

L iiii. appeare

Yet emonge christians this geere is highli estemed thies dayes

appere in theire horizon. But as fo
the amitpes and dissentions of the pla
nettes, and all that decepteful diuina
tion by the starres, they neuer asmuc
as dreamed therof. Raynes, windes,
other courses of tempestes they know
before by certeine tokēs, which they h
ue learned by long vse and obseruatiō
But of the causes of al these thinges
of the ebbinge, flowinge, and saltene
of the sea, and finallye of the origina
begynnynge and nature of heauen an
of the worlde, they holde partelye th
same opinions that oure olde Philo
sophers hold, and partely, as our Ph
losophers varye among themselfes,
they also, whiles they bringe newe re
sons of thinges, do disagree from a
them, and yet among themselfes in a
poyntes they doe not accorde. In tha
part of Philosophie, which intreatet
of manners and vertue, theire reason
and opinions agree with ours. Th
dispute of the good qualitpes of t
sowle, of the body, and of fortune. An
whether the name of goodnes maye b
applied to all these, or onlye to the e

Naturall philosophie is a knowlege most vncerteyn.

Moral philosophie

The order of good thinges

downmente

tomentes and giftes of the soule.
hey reason of vertue and pleasure.
ut the chiefe and principall question
in what thinge, be it one or moe, the
icitye of man consistethe. But in
s poynte they seme almoofte to
iche geuen and enclyned to the opi-
on of them, which defende pleasure,
herein they determine either all or
e chiefyste parte of mans felicitye to
ste. And (whyche is more to bee mar-
led at) the defense of this soo deyn-
e and delicate an opinion, they fet-
e euen from theire graue, sharpe, hyt
r, and rygorous religion. For they
uer dispute of felicity or blessednes,
it they ioyne vnto the reasons of
hilosophye certeyne principles ta-
en oute of religion: wythoute the
hyche to the inuestigation of trewe
licitye they thynke reason of it selfe
eake & vnperfecte. Those principles
e these & such lyke. That the soule is
mmortal: & by ꝑ bountiful goodnes of
God ordeined to felititie. That to our
ertues & good deades rewardes be ap
ointed after this life, and to our euil

The endes of good thinges.

The Utopianes holde opynion that felycytie cõsistethe in honest pleasure.

The principles of philosophye grounded vpon religion.

The theologie of the Utopianes.

The immortalitie of the soule, whereof these dayes certeine Christianes be ī doubte.

deades punishmẽtes. Though these b
perteyning to religiõ, yet they thinck
it mete that they shoulde be beleued
graunted by profes of reason. But
these principles were condempned an
dysanulled, then without anye delay
they pronounce no man to be so folish
whiche woulde not do all his diligen
ce and endeuoure to obteyne pleasu
be ryght or wronge, onlye auoydyng
this inconuenience, that the lesse ple
sure should not be a let or hinderaun
to the bigger: or that he laboured n
for that pleasure, whiche would bring
after it displeasure, greefe, and sorrow
For they iudge it extreame madnes
folowe sharp and peinful vertue, & n
only to bannishe ye pleasure of life, b
also willingly to suffer griefe, withou
anye hope of proffit thereof ensuing
For what proffit can there be, if a m
whẽ he hath passed ouer all his lyfe
pleasauntly, that is to say, miserably
shall haue no rewarde after his deat
But nowe syr they thinke not felicit
to reste in all pleasure, but only in th
pleasure that is good and honeste, an
th

As ouery pleasure ought not to be imbraced so grefe is not to be pursued, but for vertues sake.

at hereto, as to perfet blessednes our
ture is allured and drawen euen of
rtue, whereto onlye they that be of
e contrary opiniō do attribute felici
. For they define vertue to be life or-
red according to nature, and that we
here vnto ordeined of god. And that
dothe followe the course of nature,
hich in desiering and refusinge thin-
s is ruled by reason. Furthermore
at reason doth chiefely and principal-
e kendle in men the loue and venera-
on of the deuine maiestie. Of whose
oodnes it is that we be, & that we be
n possibilitie to attayne felicite. And
hat secondarely it bothe stirrethe and
rouoketh vs to leade our lyfe oute of
are in ioy & mirth, & also moueth vs to
elpe & further all other in respecte of
societe of nature to obteine & enioye
same. For there was neuer mā so ear
nest & painefnl a follower of vertue &
hater of pleasure, ye wold so īioyne you
aboures, watchīges, & fastīges, but he
would also exhort you to ease, lightē, &
relieue, to your powre, ye lack & misery
of others, praysing the same as a dede
of

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoiciās.

The worke & effecte of reasō in man.

of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be
poynte of humanitie for man to brin
health and comforte to man, and speci
allye (which is a vertue moste peculi
arlye belonging to man) to mitigate
assuage the greife of others, and by ta
kyng from them the sorowe and heup
nes of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, tha
is to saye to pleasure: whie maye it no
then be sayd, that nature doth prouok
euerye man to doo the same to himsel
For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to say, a ple
saunt lyfe is either cuel: and if it be s
then thou shouldest not onlye helpe n
man therto, but rather, as much as
the lieth, withdrawe all men frome i
as noysome and hurtful, or els if tho
not only mayste, but also of dewty a
bound to procure it to others, why n
chiefely to the selfe? To whome tho
art bound to shew asmuch fauoure a
gentelnes as to other. For whē natu
biddeth the to be good & gētle to oth
she commaundeth the not to be cru
and vngētle to the selfe. Therfore eu
very nature (saye they) prescribeth
vs a ioyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasu

But nowe a daies some there bee that wyllinglye procure vnto themselues painefull griefes, as thoughe therin rested some hieghe pointe of religion, whereas rather the religiously disposed persō, yf they happen to hi either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought patientlye to receaue & suffer them,

the ende of all oure operations. And
ey define vertue to be lyke ordered
cordynge to the prescripte of nature.
but in that that nature dothe allure
d prouoke men one to healpe another
lyue merily (whiche surely she doth
t without a good cause: for no man
so farre aboue the lotte of mās state
condition, that nature dothe carke
d care for hym onlye, whiche equal-
e fauourethe all, that be comprehen-
d vnder the communion of one shape
me and fassion) verely she commañ-
th the to vse diligēt circumspection,
at thou do not so seke for thine owne
mmodities, that thou procure others
commodities. Wherefore theire opi-
on is, that not only couenauntes and
rgaynes made amonge priuate men
ght to be well and faythefullye ful-
led, obserued, and kepte, but also com
en lawes, which either a good prince
the iustly publyshed, or els the peo-
e neither oppressed with tyrannye,
ither deceaued by fraude and gyell,
th by theire common consent consti-
ted & ratifyed, concerninge the par-
tition

Bargaynes & Lawes.

tion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. The lawes not offended, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine owne wealthe. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy dutie, if thou bear any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natiue countrey. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somewhat thinge from thy selfe to geue to other, that is a poynte of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh away so muche commoditie, as it bringethe gayne. For it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes, and the consciences of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankefull loue and benuolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe could haue brought to thy bodye. Finally (which to a godly disposed & a religious mind is easy to be perswaded) God recom-

The mutual recourse of kindnes.

pense

nseth the gifte of a short & smal plea
re with great and euerlastinge ioye.
herfore the matter diligētly weyde
d considered, thus they thinke, that
l our actions, and in thē the vertues
ēselfes be referred at the last to plea-
re, as their ende & felicitie. Pleasure
ey call euery motion and state of the
odie or mynde, wherin mā hath natu-
lly delectatiō. Appetite they ioyne to
ture, and that not without a good
use. For like as, not only the senses,
t also right reasō coueteth whatsoe
r is naturally pleasaunt, to ỹ it may
gotten without wrōg or iniurie, not
tting or debarrīg a greater pleasure,
or causing painful labour, cuē so tho-
thinges that mē by vaine ymagina-
on do fayne against nature to be plea
unt (as though it laye in their power
chaunge ỹ thinges, as they do ỹ na-
es of thinges) al suche pleasures they
leue to be of so small helpe & furthe-
unce to felicitie, that they counte thē
great let & hinderaūce. Because that
whom they haue ones taken place,
l his mynde they possesse with a false
opinion

The definitiō of Pleasure.

False and cōn-terfeate pleasu res.

opinion of pleasure. So that there
no place left for true and naturall
lectations. For there be many thing
which of their owne nature contey
no plesauntnes: yea the moste parte
them muche griefe and sorrowe. S
yet throughe the peruerse and mali
ous flickeringe iuticementes of lew
and vnhoneste desyres, be takē not
ly for speciall & souereigne pleasur
but also be counted amonge the chi
causes of life. In this coūterfeat kin
of pleasure they put thē that I sp
of before. Whiche the better gown
they haue on, the better mē they thi
thē selfes. In the which thing they
twyse erre. For they be no lesse dec
ued in that they thinke theire gow
the better, than they be, in that t
thinke thēselfes the better. For if
consider the profitable vse of the g
mente, whye should wulle of a fy
sponne threde, be thougt better, t
the wul of a course sponne threde?
they, as though the one did passe
other by nature, and not by their m
kyng, auaunce themselfes, and thi

The errour of thē that esteme themselfes the more for apparelles sake.

he price of their owne persones there-
y greatly encreased. And therefore the
onour, which in a course gowne they
urste not haue loked for, they require,
s it were of dewtie, for theyr fyner
owues sake. And if they be passed by
ithout reuerence, they take it displea
untly and disdainfullye. And agayne
s it not a lyke madnes to take a pryde
bayne and vnprofitable honours? Folish honors.
or what naturall or trewe pleasure
oest thou take of an other mans bare
ede, or bowed knees? Will this ease
e paine of thy knees, or remedie the
hrensie of thy hede? In this ymage of
ounterfeite pleasure, they be of a mar-
elous madnesse, whiche for the opini-
n of nobilitie, reioyse muche in their
wne concepte. Because it was their Vaine nobilitie.
ortune to come of suche auncetoures,
hose stocke of longe tyme hathe bene
ounted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is
othinge elles) spetiallye riche in lan-
es. And though their auncetours left
em not one foote of lande, or els they
emselues haue pylled it agaynste the
alles, yet they thinke themselues not

the lesse noble therfore of one heare. In this number also they counte ther that take pleasure and delite (as I said in gemmes and precious stones, an thynke themselues almooste godde if they chaunce to gette an excellen one, speciallye of that kynde, whiche that tyme of their owne countre me is had in hyghest estimation. For o kynde of stone kepeth not his pry styll in all countreis, and at all time Nor they bye them not, but taken o of the golde, and bare: no nor so ne ther, vntyll they haue made the sell to sweare, that he will warraunte an assure it to be a true stone, and no cou terfeit gemme. Suche care they tak lest a counterfeite stone should decea their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But why shouldest thou not take eue asmuche pleasure in beholdynge a co terfeite stone, whiche thine eye canne discerne from a righte stone? The shoulde bothe be of lyke value to the euen as to the blynde man. Wh shall I saye of them, that kepe super fluous riches, to take delectation on

Pleasure in precious stones most folish

The opinion & fansie of people doth augment & diminishe the price and estimation of precious stones.

Beholders of treasure, not occupiyng the same.

the beholdinge, and not in the vse or
ccupyinge thereof? Do they take
ew pleasure, or elles be thei deceaued
ith false pleasure? Or of them that
in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold
hiche they shall neuer occuppe, nor
raduenture neuer se more? And whi-
s they take care leaste they shall leese
do leese it in dede. For what is it
les, when they hyde it in the ground,
kynge it bothe frome their owne vse,
d perchaunce frome all other men-
s also? And yet thou, when thou
ste hydde thy treasure, as one out of
care, hoppest for ioye. The whiche
easure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee
len, and thou ignorannt of the theefte
ouldest dye tenne yeares after: all
t tenne yeares space that thou ly-
dest after thy money was stolen,
hat matter was it to thee, whether
hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe
thou lefteste it? Trewlye bothe
yes like profytte came to thee. To
se so foolysh pleasures they ioyne
ers, whose madnesse they knowe
hearsay, and not by vse. Hunters al-

Hyders of treasure.

A prette sleight and a wittie.

so, and hawkers. For what pleasur
is there (saye they) in castinge the di
vpō a table. Which thou hast done s
often, that if there wer any pleasure i
it, yet the oft vse might make thee w
rie thereof? Or what delite can the
be, and not rather dyspleasure in he
rynge the barkynge and howlynge
dogges? Or what greater pleasure i
there to be felte, when a dogge follow
eth an hare, then when a dogge fo
loweth a dogge? for one thinge is do
in bothe, that is to saye, runnynge,
thou haste pleasure therin. But
the hope of slaughter, and the expect
tion of tearynge in peces the beas
doth please thee: thou shouldest rath
be moued with pitie to see a selye inn
cente hare murdered of a dogge: t
weake of the stronger, the fearefull
the fearce, the innocente of the crue
and vnmercyfull. Therefore all th
exercyse of huntynge, as a thynge v
worthye to be vsed of free men, the T
topiās haue reiected to their bouche
to the whiche crafte (as we sayde
fore) they appointe their bondemen.

Vice playe.

Huntinge and hawkinge.

Hunting the basest parte of boucheri amōg the Vropians, and yet this is nowe the exercise of most noble men.

F

or they counte huntynge the lowest,
e vyle ste, and moost abiecte parte of
ucherie, & the other partes of it more
ofitable, and more honeste, as bryng-
ge muche more commoditie, in that
ey kyll beastes onely for necessitie.
here as the hunter seketh nothinge
t pleasure of the seelye and wofull
astes slaughter and murder. The
hiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe,
ey thinke doeth rise in the very bea-
s, either of a cruel affection of mind,
els to be chaunged in continuaunce
time into crueltie, by longe vse of so
uell a pleasure. These therfore and
l suche like, whiche be innumerable,
ough the cõmon sorte of people doth
ke them for pleasures, yet they, seing
ere is no natural pleasaũtnes in thẽ,
playnly determine them to haue no
initie with trew and right pleasure.
or as touchinge that they do cõmou-
e moue the sense wyth delectation
hiche semeth to be a woorke of plea-
re) this doeth nothynge diminishe
eir opinion. For not the nature of
e thing, but their peruerse and lewde

custome is the cause hereof. Which
causeth them to accept bitter or sow
thynges for swete thynges. Euen a
women with child in their viciate au
corrupte taste, thynke pytche and ta
lowe sweter then any honey. Howbe
no mannes iudgemente depraued an
corrupte, either by syckenes, or by c
stome, can chaunge the nature of ple
sure, more then it can do the nature
other thinges. They make diuers ki
The kindes of drew pleasures des of pleasures. For some they attr
bute to the soule, and some to the bod
To the soule they geue intelligen
and that delectation, that commet
of the contemplation of trewth. Her
unto is ioyned the pleasaunte reme
The pleasures of the bodye. braunce of the good lyfe paste. T
pleasure of the bodye they deuide i
ii. partes. The first is when delecta
is sensibly felt and perceaued. Whi
many times chaũceth by the renewi
and refreshing of those partes, whi
oure naturall heate drieth vp. T
commeth by meate and drynke. A
sometymes whyles those thynges
repulsed, and voyded, wherof is in
bo

dy ouer great abundaunce. This
easure is felt, when we do our natu-
l easement, or when we be doyng the
te of generation, or when the yt-
inge of any part is eased with rub-
ng or scratchynge. Sometimes plea
re riseth exhibitinge to any membre
thynge that it desireth, nor takynge
om it any paine that it feeleth, which
uerthelesse tikleth and moueth oure
nses wyth a certeine secrete efficacie,
it with a manifest motion turnethe
em to it. As is that whiche commeth
musicke. The seconde parte of bode-
pleasure they say, is that which con-
steth and resteth in the quiete, and Bodily health.
pryghte state of the bodye. And
hat trewlye is euerye mannes owne
opre health entermingled and distur-
ed with no griefe. For this, yf it be
ot letted nor assaulted with no greif,
s delectable of it selfe, thoughe it be
oued with no externall or outwarde
leasure. For though it be not so plain
nd manyfeste to the sense, as the gre-
ye luste of eatynge and drynkynge,
et neuerthelesse manye take it for the
hiefeste pleasure. All the Utopians

graunt it to be a right souereigne plea
sure, and as you woulde saye the foun
dation and grounde of all pleasures
as whiche euen alone is hable to mak
the state and condition of life delecta
ble and pleasaunt. And it beyng ano
taken awaye, there is no place lefte fo
any pleasure. For to be without greif
not hauinge health, that they call vn
sensibilitie, and not pleasure. The V
topians haue long a go reiected & con
demned the opinion of them, which
sayde that stedfaste and quiete health
(for this question also hathe bene dil
gently debated amonge them) ough
not therfore to be counted a pleasur
bycause they saye it can not be presen
lye and sensiblye perceaued and fel
by some outwarde motion. But of th
contrarie parte nowe they agree a
moofte all in this, that healthe is
mooft soueraigne pleasure. For seyn
that in sycknesse (saye they) is greif
whiche is a mortal enemie to pleasur
euē as sickness is to health, why shou
not then pleasure be in the quietnes
healthe? For they say it maketh noth

his matter, whether you saye that
knesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes
griefe, for all commethe to one pur-
e. For whether health be a pleasure
elfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure,
ter is of heate, truelye bothe wayes
olloweth, that they cannot be with-
te pleasure, that be in perfect helth.
rthermore whiles we eat (say they)
n healthe, whiche beganne to be ap-
ired, fighteth by the helpe of foode
ainste hunger. In the which fight,
hiles healthe by litle and litle getteth
r vpper hande, that same procedyng,
d (as ye would say) that onwardnes
the wonte strength ministreth that
asure, wherby we be so refreshed.
ealth therfore, whiche in the conflict
iopefull, shall it not be mery, when
hath gootten the victorie? But as
one as it hathe recouered the prist-
ite strength, which thing onely in all
e fight it coueted, that it incontinent
astonied? For shal it not know nor
nbrace the owne wealthe & goodnes?
or where it is said, healthe can not be
lt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew.

For

For what man waking, saye they, fe
leth not himselfe in health: but he tha
is not? Is there anye man so possesse
with stonishe insensiblitie, or with le
thargie, that is to say, the sleping sick
nes, that he will not graunt healthe t
be acceptable to him, and delectable?
But what other thinge is delectatio
than that whiche by an other name
called pleasure? They embrac
chieflie the pleasures of the mind. Fo
them they counte the chiefest and mo
principall of all. The chiefe parte
them they thinke doth come of the exe
cise of vertue, & conscience of good li
Of these pleasures that the body mi
streth, they geue ỹ preeminẽce to helt
For the delite of eating & drinking, an
whatsoeuer hath any like pleasaũtne
they determyne to be pleasures muc
to be desired, but no other wayes th
for healthes sake. For suche thinges
their owne proper nature be not so pl
saunt, but in that they resiste sickenes
priuelie stealing on. Therfore like as
is a wise mãs part, rather to auoid si
nes, then to wishe for medicines, a
rather to driue away and put to flig

Delectation.

The pleasures of the mynde.

careft

rekull griefes, then to call for com-
ȝt: so it is muche better not to neade
is kinde of pleasure, then thereby to
easted of the contrarie griefe. The
hiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man
ke for his felicitie, that man must ne-
s graunt, that then he shalbe in most
licitie, if he liue that life, which is led
continuall hunger, thurste, itchinge,
tinge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and
bbing. The which life how not only
ule, & vnhoneſt, but also howe misers
le, & wretched it is, who perceueth not?
These doubtles be the baſeſt pleasures
al, as vnpure & vnperfect. For they ne
er come, but accõpanied w̃ their cõtra
le griefes. As w̃ the pleasure of eating
s ioyned hũger, & ẏ after no very egal
ȝt. For of these. ii. ẏ griefe is both the
ore vehemẽt, & also of lõger cõtinu-
ce. For it beginneth before the plea-
ure, & endeth not vntil the pleasure die
w̃ it. Wherefore suche pleasures they
hike not greatlye to be set by, but in ẏ
hei be necessari. Howbeit they haue ẽ
ite also ĩ these, & thãkfull knowledge
i tẽder loue of mother nature, which w̃

moost

most pleasaũt delectacion alloureth h
children to that, to the necessarie v
wherof they must from time to time
tinually be forced and driuen. For ho
wretched and miserable should our li
be, if these dailie greefes of hunger a
thurst coulde not be driuen awaye, b
with bitter potions, and sower med
nes, as the other diseases be, wherwit
we be seldomer troubled? But beuti
strengthe, nemblenes, these as peculi
& pleasaunt giftes of nature they ma
much of. But those pleasures that
receaued by the eares, the eyes, and t
nose, whiche nature willeth to be p
per and peculiar to man (for no oth
liuinge creature doth behold the fair
nes & the bewtie of the worlde, or is m
ued with any respecte of sauours, b
onely for the diuersitie of meates, ne
ther perceaueth the concordaunte a
discordant distaunces of soundes, & t
nes) these pleasures, I say, they acce
and alowe as certen pleasaunte reio
singes of life. But in all thinges th
cautel they vse, that a lesse pleasure h
der not a bigger, & that the pleasure

The giftes of nature.

cause of displeasure, whiche they
inke to folow of necessitie, if the plea
re be vnhoneste. But yet to dispise
e comlines of bewtie, to wast the bo
lie strength, to turne nimblenes into
oughishnesse, to consume and make fe
e the bodie with fastinge, to do injur
e to healthe, and to reiecte the plea
unte motions of nature, onles a m
glecte these commodities, whiles he
the with a feruent zeale procure the
ealthe of others, or the commen pro
e, for the whiche pleasure forborne,
is in hoope of a greater pleasure at
odes hande elles for a vaine shadow
vertue, for the wealth and profite of
man, to punishe himselfe, or to the
tente he maye be hable courragiously
to suffer aduersitie: whiche per
aunce shall neuer come to him, this
do they thinke it a point of extreame
dnes, and a token of a man cruellye
nded towardes himselfe, and vnkind
wardes nature, as one so disdaining
be in her daunger, that he renoun
th and refuseth all her benefites.
his is their sentence and opinion of
rtue and pleasure. And they beleue
that

Marke this well.

that by mans reason none can be fou
trewer then this, onles any godlyer
inspired into man from heuen. Whe
in whether they beleue well or no. n
ther the time doth suffer vs to discu
neither it is nowe necessarie. For y
haue taken vpon vs to shewe and d
clare their lawes and ordinaunces, a
not to defende them. But this thyn
I beleue verely: howe soeuer these
crees be, that there is in no place of t
world, neyther a more excellent prop
neither a more flourishynge comm
wealth. They be lyghte and quicke
bodie, full of actiuitie and nimblene

The wealthe & description of the Vtopians.

and of more strēgth then a man wou
iudge them by their stature, which
all that is wot to lowe. And thoug
they soyle be not verie frutefull, n
their aier very wholsome, yet again
the ayer they so defende them with
perate diete, and so order and husbar
their grounde with diligente trauai
that in no coūtrey is greater increa
and plentye of corne and cattell, n
mens bodies of longer lyfe, and subie

apte to fewer diseases. There ther-
re a man maye see well, and diligent-
e exploited and furnished, not onelye
iose thinges whiche husvandemen do
imenly in other cõtreis, as by craft
d cunninge to remedie the barrennes
the grounde: but also a whole wood
the handes of the people plucked vp
the rootes in one place, & set againe
an other place. Wherein was had
gard and consideration, not of plẽty,
it of cõmodious carriage, that wood
d timber might be nigher to the sea,
the riuers, or, ẏ cities. For it is lesse
boure and businesse to carrie graine
rre by land, than wood. The peo-
e be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne
itted, delitinge in quietnes, & when
de requireth, hable to abide & suffer
ich bodelie laboure. Els they be not
eatly desirous & fond of it: but in the
exercise & studie of the mind they be nes-
r wery. Whẽ they had herd me speak
ẏ greke literature or lernig (for in la
i there was nothing that I thought
ey would greatly alow, besides histo
ns & Poetes) they made wonderfull

The vtilitie of the greke tõge.

earnest

earnestie and importunate sute vnto
that I would teach & instructe them
that tonge and learninge. I began
therfore to reade vnto them, at the fi
truelie more bicause I would not se
to refuse the laboure, then that I h
ped that they would any thing prof
therin. But when I had gone forwa
a litle, I perceaued incontinente
their diligence, that my laboure sho
not be bestowed in vaine. For they
gan so easelie to fashion their lette
so plainlie to pronounce the woord
so quickelie to learne by hearte, an
suerlie to rehearse the same, that I
uailed at it, sauinge that the most p
of them were fine, and chosen wit
and of ripe age, piked oute of the c
panie of the learned men, which be
onelie of their owne free and volu
rie will, but also by the commaun
mente of the counsell, vndertok
learne this langage. Therefore in
thē thre yeres space there was noth
in the Greke tonge that they lacke
They were hable to rede good auth
withoute anie staye, if the booke w

A wonderfull aptnes to learninge in the Utopians.

But now most blockheded asses be sette to learninge, and most pregnāt wittes corrupt with pleasures

t faile. This kynde of learninge, as
ſuppoſe, they take ſo muche the ſoo-
r, bycauſe, it is ſumwhat allyaunte
them. For I thinke that this nation
oke their beginninge of the Grekes,
cauſe their ſpeche, which in al other
yntes is not much vnlyke the Perſi
tonge, kepeth dyuers ſignes and to
ns of the greke langage in the names
their citpes, and of theire magiſtra-
s. They haue of me (for when I was
termyned to entre into my. xiii. voy-
e, I caſte into the ſhippe in the ſteade
marchãdiſe a prety fardel of bookes,
cauſe I intended to come againe ra-
er neuer, than ſhortly) they haue, I
ye, of me the moſte parte of Platoes
okes, more of Ariſtotles, alſo Theo-
hraſtus of plantes, but in diuers pla-
s (which I am ſorye for) vnperfecte.
or whiles we were a ſhipborde, a ma-
oſet chaunced vpon the booke, as it
as negligentlye layde by, which wan
nlye playinge therewyth plucked
ute certeyne leaues, and tooke
em in pieces. Of them that haue
ryytten the grammer, they haue one-

lye Lascaris. For Theodorus I carie
not wyth me, nor neuer a dictionarye
but Hesichius, & Dioscorides. The
sett greate store by Plutarches bo
kes. And they be delyted wyth Luci
nes mery conceytes and iestes. Of t
Poetes they haue Aristophanes, H
mer, Euripides, and Sophocles in A
bus small pryse. Of the Historia
they haue Thucidides, Herodotus,
Herodian. Also my companion, T
cius Apinatus caried with him phis
bokes, certein smal wourkes of Hip
crates, and Galenes Microtechne.
The wyche boke they haue in grea
estimatiō. For thoughe there be almo
no nation vnder heauen that hath le
nede of Phisicke then they, yet this t
Phisicke hieghly regarded. withstandyng, Phisicke is no where
greater honour. Bycause they cou
the knowledge of it among the good
este, and most profytable partes of P
losophie. For whyles they by the he
of this Philosophie searche out the
crete mysterpes of nature, they thi
themselfes to receaue therby not on
wonderfull greate pleasure, but also
obte

teine great thākes and fauour of the
tour & maker therof. Whome they
inke accordig to ye fassiō of other arti
cers, to haue set furth the maruelous
gorgious frame of the world for mā
great affecciō intētiuely to beholde.
Whom only he hath made of witte, &
pacitie to cōsidre & vnderstand the ex
llēcie of so great a woork. And there-
re he beareth (say they) more goodwil
loue to the curious & diligent behol-
r & vewer of his woork & maruelour
thesame, thē he doth to hī, which like
very brute beaste without witte and
asō, or as one without sēse or mouīg,
the no regarde to soo greate and soo
onderfull a spectacle. The wittes
erefore of the Utopians inurede and
ercised in learnynge, be maruellous
ycke in the inuention of feates hel-
nge annye thinge to the aduantage
d wealthe of lyffe. Howebeit. ii. fea-
s theye maye thanke vs for. That is,
e scyence of imprinting, and the craf-
of makinge paper. And yet not one-
e vs but chiefelye and principallye
emselfes.

The contemplacion of nature.

For whē we shewede to thē Aldus hi
print in bookes of paper, and told the
of the stuffe wherof paper is made, an
of the feate of grauing letters, speakī
sum what more, then we colde plainly
declare (for there was none of vs, tha
knewe perfectlye either the one or th
other) they furthwith very wittely c
lectured the thinge. And where as b
fore they wrote onely in skinnes, in ba
kes of trees, & in rides, nowe they hat
attempted to make paper, & to impri
letters. And thoughe at the first yt pr
ued not all of the beste, yet by often a
sayinge the same they shortelye got t
feate of bothe. And haue so brough
the matter aboute, that yf they had c
ppes of Greeke authores, they coul
lacke no bookes. But nowe th
haue no moore, thē I rehearsed befo
saulnge that by prputpuge of book
they haue multiplyed and increased t
same into manye thousandes of copi
Whosoeuer cummethe thether to
the lande, bringe excellent in anye gi
of wytte, or througe muche and lon
iournienge wel experienced and sene

he knowledg of many countreies (for he whyche cause wee were very welome to them) him they receyue and intertayne wonders gentilly, & louingly. For they haue delite to heare what is done in euerye lande, howbeit veryle we marchaunte men come thether. For what shoulde they bring thether, unles it were Iron, or els gold and syluer, whiche they hadde rather carrye home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be caryed oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysedome to carry thatwere furthe themselues, then that other shoulde come thether to fetche it, to thentente they maye the better knowe the out landes on euerye syde of them, and kepe in vre the feate and knowledge of sailinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and diuers other matters.

A meruelous enquirie of this matter.

They neither make bondemen of prisoners taken in battaple, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte themselfes, nor of bondmens children, nei- to be short, of anye suche as they cann- gette out of forreine countries, though he were theire a bondman. But eithe- suche, as amonge themselfes for hei- nous offences be punyshed with bon- dage, or elles suche, as in the Citie- of other landes for greate trespasses b- condempned to deathe. And of this so- of bondemen they haue mooste store- For manye of them they bringe hom- cumtimes payinge very lytle for ther- yea mooste commonlye gettynge the- for gramercye. These sortes of bo- demen they kepe not onelye in contin- al woorke & labour, but also in bande- But their ounne mē they hādle harde- whom they Judge more desperate, & haue deserued greater punishemen- bycause they being so godlye brought

p to vertue in soo excelēte a common
ealth, could not for all that be refrei-
ed from misdoing. An other kinde of
ondemē they haue, whē a vile drudge
eing a poore laborer in an other coun-
ry doth chuese of his owne free wyll
o be a bondmā amōg thē. These they
ntreate forder honestly, & enterteine
lmoste as gētelye, as theire owne free
ytyzeins, saupnge that they put them
o a lyttle more laboure, as thereto ac-
ustomed. Yf annye suche, be disposed
o departe thens (whiche seldome is
eene) they neither holde him againste
is wyll, neither sende him away with
mptye hādes. The sycke (as I sayde)
hey see to w̄ great affection, and lette
nothīg at al passe cōcernīg either Phi-
sycke or good diete, whereby they may
be restored agaīe to their health. Such
as be sicke of incurable diseases they
comforte with sittinge by them, with
talkinge with them, and to be shorte
with all maner of helpes that may be.
But yf the disease be not onelye vn-
curable, but also full of contyn-
nuall payne and anguishe: then the

Of them that be sicke.

prieſtes and the magiſtrates exhort the
man, ſeinge he is not hable to doo anye
dewtye of lyffe, and by ouerlyuinge his
owne deathe is noyſome and irkeſome
to other, and greuous to himſelfe: that
he wyl determine with himſelfe no lon
ger to cheryſhe that peſtilēt and peine
ful diſeaſe. And ſeinge his lyfe is to him
but a tormente, that he wyl not bee vn
wellinge to dye, but rather take a good
hope to him, & either diſpatche himſelfe
out of that payneful lyffe, as out of
priſon, or a racke of tormente, or elſe
ſuffer himſelfe wyllinglye to be rydde
oute of it by other. And in ſo doinge
they tell him he ſhall doo wyſely, ſeinge
by his deathe he ſhall liſe no commodi
tye, but ende his payne. And bycauſe in
that acte he ſhall followe the counſel
of the prieſtes, that is to ſaye, of the in
terpreters of goodes wyll & pleaſure,
they ſhewe him that he ſhall do lyke a
godly and a vertuous man. They that
be thus perſuaded, fynyſhe their liues
willynglye, either with hunger, or
elles dye in their ſleape without any
feaſing of deathe. But they cauſe not

Wolūtarye deathe.

che to dye agaynste his wyll, nor they
e no lesse diligence and attendaunce
oute him: beleuinge this to be an ho
rable deathe. Elles he that killeth
nselfe before that the prestes and
e counsel haue allowed the cause of
s deathe, him as vnworthy either to
burned, or with fier to be consumed,
ey caste vnburied into some stinkinge
arrish The woman is not maried be Of wedlocke.
re she be xviii yeres olde. The man is
ii yeres elder before he marye. If
ither the man or the womã be proued
o haue actually offended before theire
arriage, with an other, the partye
hat so hathe trespaced is sharpelye
unished. And bothe the offenders be
rbidden euer after in al theire lyfe to
arrye: onles the faulte be forgeuen
y the princes pardone. But bothe the
ood man and the good wyfe of the
ouse, where that offẽse was cõmitted,
s beinge slacke and negligent in lo-
inge to theire chardge, be in daunger
f greate reproche and infampe. That
offense is so sharpely punyshed, because
hey perceaue, that onles they be dili-

gentlye kepte from the libertye o
this vice, fewe wyll ioyne together i
the loue of marriage, wherein all th
lyfe must be led with one, and also a
the griefes and displeasures commin
therewith pacientlye be taken & born
Furthermore in chuelinge wyfes an
husbandes they obserue earnestly an
straytelye a custome, whiche semed
vs very fonde and folyshe. For a sad
an honest matrone sheweth the wom
be she mayde or widdowe, naked to th
wower. And lykewyse a sage and di
crete man exhibyteth the wower n
bed to the woman. At this custome
laughed, and disalowed it as foolish
But they on the other part doo gre
lye wonder at the follye of al oth
nations, whyche in byinge a col
whereas a lytle money is in hasar
be so charpe and circumspecte, th
thoughe he be almoste all bare, yet th
wyll not bye hym, oneles the sadl
and all the harneles be taken of, lea
vnder those couerynges be hydde, s
galle or sooze. And yet in chuelinge
wyfe, whyche shalbe either pleasu

Thoughe not verie honestly, yet not vnwiselye

displeasure to them all theire lyfe
ter, they be so recheles, that all the re
dewe of the woomans bodye beinge
uered with cloothes, they esteme her
aselye be one handebredeth (for they
n se no more but her face) and so to
yne her to them not without greate
operdye of euel agreinge together, yf
ny thing in her body afterward should
haunce to offend and myslyke them.
For all men be not so wyse, as to haue
specte to the vertuous conditions of
he partie. And the endowmẽtes of the
odye cause the vertues of the minde
ore to be estemed and regarded: yea
uen in the mariages of wyse men. Ne-
ely so foule deformitie maye be hydde
nder those coueringes, that it maye
uite alienate & take awaye the mans
nynde from his wyfe, when it shal not
e lawful for theire bodies to be sapera
e agayne. If suche deformitie happen
y any chaunce after the mariage is cõ
sũmate and finyshed, wel, there in no re
nedie but patience Euery man muste
take his fortune wel a worthe. But it
were wel done that a lawe were made
whereby

wherebye all suche deceytes myghte b
eschewed, and auoyded before hande.
And this were they constreyned mo
earnestlye to looke vpon, because the
onlye of the nations in that parte
the worlde bee contente euerye ma
with one wyfe a piece. And matrym
nete is there neuer broke, but by deat
excepte adulterye breake the bonde,
els the intollerable wayewarde m
ners of either partye. For if either
them finde themselfe for any such cau
greued: they maye by the license of t
counsel chaunge and take another.
But the other partie lyueth euer aft
in infampe, and out of wedlocke. Yo
beit the husbande to put away his w
for no other faulte, but for that so
myshappe is fallen to her bodye, th
by no meanes they wyll suffre. F
they iudge it a great poynt of cruelt
that anye body in their moste nede
helpe and comforte, shoulde be casse
and forsaken, and that olde age, why
both bringeth sickines with it, and
a syckenes it selfe, shoulde vnkindly a
vnfaythfullye be delte withall. B

Diuorcement.

no

owe and then it chaunseth, where as
e man and the woman cannot well
gree betwne themselfes, both of them
ndinge other, with whome they ho-
: to lyue more quietlye and merylye,
hat they by the full consente of them
othe be diuorsed a sonder and maried
gaine to other But that not without
he authoritie of the counsell. Whiche
greeth to no diuorses, before they and
heir wyfes haue diligently tried & exa
ined the matter. Yea & thē also they
: lothe to consent to it, bycause they
now this to be the next way to breake
ue betwene man and wyfe, to be in
spe hope of a new mariage. Breakers
: wedlocke be punyshed with moste
ceuous bondage. And if both the offē-
ers were maried, then the parties
hiche in that behalfe haue sufferede
rong, beinge diuorsed from the auou-
ers, be maried together, if they wille,
: els to whom they lust. But if either
f them both do styl continewe in loue
ward so vnkinde a bedfellowe, the
se of wedlocke is not to them forbid-
en, if the partye faultelesse be disposed

to

to followe in toylinge and drud-
gerye the person, which for that offen-
ce is condempned to bondage. And ve-
ry ofte it chaunceth that the repentaũ-
ce of the one, and the earneste diligenc
of the other, dothe so moue the princ
with pytie and compassion, that he re-
storeth the bonde persone from serui-
tude to libertie and fredom again. Bu
if the same partie be taken eftsones i
that faulte, there is no other waye bu
death To other trespaces no prescrip
punishmente is appoynted by any
lawe. But accordinge to the heynous
nes of the offense, or contrarye, so th
punishemente is moderated by the di-
cretion of the counsell. The husban
des chastice theire wyfes: and the p
rentes theire children, oneles they h
ue done anye so horryble an offens
that the open punyshemente there
maketh muche for the aduauncemen
of honeste maners. But moste com
menlye the moste heynous faultes
punyshed with the incommoditie
bondage. For that they suppose to be
the offenders no lesse griefe, and to th

The decernig of punishmẽt putte to the discretion of the magistrates.

commo

ommon wealth more profit, then yf
hey should hastely put them to death,
so make them quite out of the waye.
For there cūmeth more profit of theire
boure, then of theire deathe, and by
heire example they feare other the lon
er from lyke offenses. But if they be-
ge thus vsed, doo rebell and kicke a-
aine, then forsothe they be slayne as
sperate and wilde beastes, whom nei-
her prison nor chaine coulde restraine
nd kepe vnder. But they, whiche take
heire bondage pacientlye, be not lefte
ll hopeles. For after they haue bene
oken and tamed with longe mise-
es, if then thei shewe such repentaun-
, as therebye it maye bee perceaued
hat they be soryer for theire offen-
then for theire punyshemente: sum-
mes by the Prynces prerogatyue,
nd sumtymes by the voyce and con-
nt of the people, theire bōdage either
mitigated, or els cleane released and
rgeuen. He that moueth to aduou-
eye is in no lesse daunger and ieoper-
e, then yf he hadde committed aduou
ye in dede. For in all offenses they
counte

Motion to aduoutrye punished.

counte the intente and pretensed pur
pose as euel, as the acte or dede it selfe
thinking that no lette ought to excu
him, that did his beste to haue no lett
They haue singular delite & pleasur
in foles. And as it is a greate reproch
to do to annye of them hurte or intur
pleasure of fooles. so they prohibite not to take pleasu
of foolyshnes. For that, they think
dothe muche good to the fooles And
any man be so sadde, and sterne, that
cānot laughe neither at their worde
nor at their dedes, none of them be c
mitted to his tuition: for feare least
would not intreate (hē gentilly and
norably enough: to whom they shou
bynge no delectation (for other goo
nes in them is none) muche lesse an
profite shoulde they yelde him. T
mocke a man for his deformitie, or
that he lacketh anye parte or lymme
his bodye, is counted greate dishon
stye and reproche, not to him that
mocked, but to him that mocketh.
Which vnwyselye doth imbrayde a
man of that as a vice, that was
in his powre to eschewe. Also as th
coul

counte and reken verye litell witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlinesse, so to helpe the same with payntinges, is taken for a paine and a wanton pride, not without greate infamie. For they knowe euen by very experience, that no comelinesse of bewtye doethe so hyghelye commende and auaunce the wiues in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as loue is oftētimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preserued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people frō doing euil by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therfore they set vp in the markette place the ymages of notable mē, & of such as haue bene great & bountyful benefactors to the cōmen wealth, for ꝑ perpetual memorie of their goodnes: & also that the glory & renowme of the auncetors maye stirre and prouoke their posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly & ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for euer at-

Counterfeite bewtie.

Sinne punished & vertue rewarded.

The inordinate desire of honours condemned.

ceiuing any promotion as long as he li
ueth. They lyue together louingly
For no magistrate is eyther hawte o
fearfull. Fathers they be called, & lyk
fathers they vse themselues. The citi
zens (as it is their dewtie) willyngly
exhibite vnto them dew honour with
Magistrates honoured. out any compulsion. Nor the princ
himselfe is not knowē from the othe
by princely apparell, or a robe of state
nor by a crowne or diademe royal, or ca
of maintenaunce, but by a litle theffe o
corne caried before him. And so a tape
of wax is borne before ỹ bishop, wher
by onely he is knowen. They haue bu
Fewe lawes. few lawes. For to people so instruct
and institute very fewe do suffice. Be
this thing they chiefely reproue amō
other natiōs, that innumerable boke
of lawes & expositions vpō thesame b
not sufficiēt. But they think it again
all right & iustice that men shoulde b
bound to those lawes, which either b
in number mo then be hable to be read
or els blinder & darker, then that any
The multitude of lawyers superfluous. mā can well vnderstande thē. Further
more they vtterlie exclude and banish

a

all attorneis, proctours, & sergeaũtes at the lawe: whiche crafte lye handell matters, & subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it moste meete, that euery mã should pleade his own matter, & tel the same tale before the iudge that he wold tell to his mã of law. So that there be lesse circumstaũce of wordes, and the trueth shall sooner come to light, whiles the iudge with a discrete iudgement doeth wape the wordes of him, whom no lawyer hath instructe wt deceit, & whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes against the false and malicious circumuentions of craftie children. This is harde to be obserued in other countreis, in so infinitie a number of blinde & intricate lawes. But in Utopia euery mã is a cunning lawier. For as (I said) they haue very few lawes: and the plainer and grosser that a lye interpretation is: that they allowe is most iuste. For all lawes (saie they) The intent of lawes. are made and publyshed onely to the intente, that by them euery man shoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye and subtill interpre-

cation of them(forasmuche as few can attayne thereto)canne put verye fewe in that remembraunce, where as the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaninge of the lawes is open to euerye man.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare sorte of the people, whiche be bothe moste in number, and haue moste nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation vpō it, that without greate witte and longe argumente no man can discusse it? To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther the grosse iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their liuynges, cannot suffice thereto. These vertues of the Utopians haue caused their nexte neighboures and borderers, whiche liue free and vnder no subiection(for the Utopians longe ago, haue deliuered many of them from tirannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for fiue yeares space. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bring

ringe home againe with honoure and
gaine, and take new againe with them
nto their countrey . These nati-
ns haue vndoubtedlye very well and
olsomely prouided for their common
ealthes. For seynge that bothe the
akinge and marringe of the weale pu
lique, doeth depende and hange vpon
e maners of the rulers and magistra
s, what officers coulde they more
pselye haue chosen, then those which
n not be ledde frome honestye by bri-
es (for to them that shortly after shal
epart thens into their own countrey
oney should be vnprofitable) nor yet
e moued eyther with fauoure, or ma-
ce towardes any man, as beyng straũ
ers, and vnaquainted with the peo-
le? The whiche two vices of affectiõ
d auarice, where they take place in
dgementes, incontinente they breake
stice, the strongest and suerest bonde
f a common wealth . These peoples
hiche fetche their officers and ru-
rs from them, the Vtopians cal their
llowes. And other to whome they
aue bene beneficiall, they call their

Of leagues.

frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey & countrey be so ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuer make none with any nie nation. For to what purpose serue leagues, say they? As thoughe nature had not set sufficient loue betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chiefelye, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues betwene princes be wont to be kepte and obserued very sklenderly. For here in Europa, & especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the maiestie of leagues is euerie where esteemed holy & inuiolable: partlie through the iustice and goodnes of princes, and partlye at the reuerence & auctiō of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselues, but they do verye religiouslye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes by any wise to abide by their promisses, & them that refuse or denye so to do, with their pontificall powre, and authori-

th

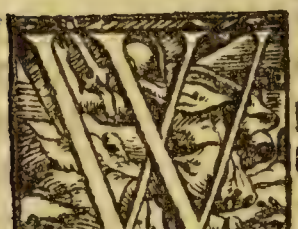
hey compell thereto. And surely they
hinke well that it might seme a verye
eproche full thing, yf in the leagues of
hem which by a peculiare name be cal
ed faithful, faith should haue no place.
But in that newe founde parte of the
vorld, which is scarcelie so farre frome
s beyond the line equinoctiall, as our
ife and maners be dissident frō theirs,
o trust nor confidence is in leagues.
But the mo and holier ceremonies the
eague is knitte vp with, the soner it is
roken by some cauillation founde in
he wordes, which many times of pur-
ose be so craftelie put in, and placed,
hat the bandes cā neuer be so sure nor
o stronge, but they will find some hole
pē to crepe out at, and to breake both
eague and treuth. The whiche craftye
ealing, yea the whiche fraude and de-
eite, if they should know it to be prac-
ised among priuate mē in their bargai
es & contractes, they would incōtinēt
rie out at it with an opē mouth, and a
ower countenaūce, as an offense moste
etestable, and worthye to be punnp-

shed with a shamefull deathe: yea euen
very they that auaunce themselues au
thours of lyke counsell geuen to prin
ces. Wherfore it may wel be thought,
either that al iustice is but a basse and
a low vertue, and which auaileth it selfe
farre vnder the highe dignitie of kyng
ges: Or at the least wise, that there be
two iustices, the one meete for the infe
riour sorte of the people, goynge a fote
and creppynge lowe by the grounde, and
bounde down on euery side with many
bandes, bycause it shall not run at ro
uers. The other a princelye vertue
which like as it is of much hygher ma
iestie, then the other yore iustice, so also
it is of muche more libertie, as to the
which nothing is vnlawfull that it lu
steth after. These maners of princes
(as I said) whiche be there so euell ke
pers of leagues, cause the Utopians,
as I suppose, to make no leagues at al
which perchaūce would chaunge their
minde if they liued here. Howbeit the
thinke that thoughe leagues be ne
uer so faithfullye obserued & kepte, ye
the custome of makynge leagues wa

vert

ery euell begon. For this causeth men as though nations which be seperat a bore, by ꝑ space of a litle hil or a riuer, were coupled together by no societie or bonde of nature) to thinke themselues borne aduersaries and enemies one to an other, & that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destructiō of the other, if leagues were not: yea, & that after ꝑ leagues be accorded, frendship doth not grow & encrese: But the licence of robbing & stealing doth stil remaine, as farforth as for lack of forsight & aduisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentēce or clause to the contrarie is not therin sufficiētlie comprehended. But they be of contrarye opinion. That is, that no man ought to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no iniurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league: and that men be better & more surely knit togethers by loue and benevolēce, thē by couenaūtes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare.



Warre or battel as
thing very beastly, an
yet to no kinde of bea
stes in so muche vse a
to man, they do dete
and abhorre. And con
trarie to the custome almoste of all o
ther nations, they counte nothynge s
much against glorie, as glory gotten i
warre. And therefore thoughe they d
daylie practise and exercise themselue
in the discipline of warre, and not on
ly the men, but also the women vpo
certen appointed daies, lest they shoul
be to seke in the feate of armes, if nei
should require, yet they neuer go to ba
tell, but either in the defence of the
owne countrey, or to driue out of the
frendes lande the enemies that haue in
uaded it, or by their power to deliue
from the pocke and bondage of tiran
nye some people, that be therewith op
pressed. Which thing they do of mer
pit

pitie and compassion. Howbeit they lende helpe to their frendes, not euer in their defence. But sometymes also to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not onles their counsell and aduise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part will not restoore agayne suche thynges as be of them iustelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and inuasions of soldiours praies and booties be driuen awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchaūtes in anie lande, either vnder the pretence of vniuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge & wronge vnderstandinge of good lawes, do susteine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes agaīst the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete marchaūt men, as the

Utopians

Utopias thought, suffred wrõg of the
Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of
righte. But whether it were right
or wronge, it was with so cruel & mor
tal warre reuenged, the coũtreis roũd
about topninge their helpe & powre to
the puissaunce and malice of bothe par
ties, that moste flourishing and wealthy
peoples, being some of them shrewdl
shaken, and some of thẽ sharpely beatẽ
the mischeues wer not finished nor en
ded, vntil the Alaopolitanes, at the last
were yelded vp as bondemen into the
iurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For
the Utopians fought not this war for
themselues. And yet the Nephelogetes
before the warre, when the Alaopolita
nes flourished in wealth, wer nothing
to be compared with them So egerly
the Utopians prosequute the iniuries
done to their frendes: yea, in mone
matters, and not their owne likewise
For if they by coueyne or gile be wipe
beside their goodes, so that no violence
be done to their bodies, they wreak
their anger by abstayninge from occu
pieng with that nation, vntil they hau
mad

made satisfaction. Not forbicause they
set lesse stoore by their owne citizens,
thē by their frendes: but that they take
the losse of their frēdes money more hea-
uelie thē ỹ losse of their own. Bicause
that their frendes marchaunte men,
forasmuche as that they leise is their
own priuate goods, susteine great dam
nage by the losse. But their owne ci-
tizeyns leise nothing but of the cōmen
goods, & of that whiche was at home
plentifull and almost superfluous, els
had it not bene sent furth. Therfore no
man feleth the losse. And for this cause
they thinke it to cruell an acte, to re-
uenge that losse with the deathe of ma-
ne, the incommoditie of the which losse
no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor
yet in his liuing. But if it chaūce that
ny of their men in any other countrey
e maimed or killed, whether it be done
y a cōmen or a priuate counsel, know-
ng & trying out the trueth of the mat
er by their ambassadours, onlesse the
ffenders be rendered vnto them in re-
ompence of the iniurie, they will not
e appeased: but incontinent they pro-

claime

claime warre against them. The offe
ders yelded, they punishe either wi
death, or with bondage. They be n
only sory, but also ashamed to atchie
the victorie with bloudshed, countin
it greate folie to bie precious wares
dere. They reioyse and auaunt themse
ues, if they vanquishe & oppresse the
enemies by craft and deceite. And f
that act they make a generall triumph
and as yf the matter were manfully
handeled, they set vp a pyller of ston
in the place where they so vanquishe
their enemies, in token of the victori
For then they glorie, then they boast
and crake that they haue plaied th
men in deede, when they haue so ouer
cõmen, as no other liuing creature bu
onely man could: that is to saye, by th
might and puissaunce of wit For wit
bodily strength (say they) beares, lion
boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wil
beastes do fight. And as the moste pa
of them do passe vs in strength & fierc
courage, so in wit & reason we be muc
stronger then they all. Their chief an
principall purpose in warre, is to ob

Victorie deare bought.

teine

ceine that thynge, whiche if they had
before obteined, they woulde not haue
moued battell. But if that be not pos-
sible, they take so cruell vengeaunce of
them whiche be in the faulte, that euer
after they be aferde to do the like.

This is their chiefe and principall in-
tent, whiche they immediatlie and first
of al prosequute, and setforwarde. But
yet so, that they be more circumspecte
in auoidinge and eschewynge ieopar-
dies, then they be desierous of prayse
and renowne. Therefore immediatlye
after that warre is ones solemnelie de-
nounced, they procure many proclama
cions signed with their owne commen
seale to be set vp priuilie at one time
in their enemies lande, in places moste
frequented. In these proclamations
they promisse greate rewardes to hym
that will kill their enemies prince, and
somewhat lesse giftes, but them verye
greate also, for euerye heade of them,
whose names be in the saide proclama-
cions conteyned. They be those whom
they coũt their chiefe aduersaries, next
vnto the prince. What soeuer is prescri-
bed

bed vnto him that killeth any of the p
claimed persons, that is dubled to hi
that bringeth anye of the same to thē
liue: yea, & to the proclaimed persons
thēselues, if they wil chaūge their m
des, & come into them, taking their p
tes, they proffer the same greate rew
des with pardone, and suertie of the
liues. Therfore it quickely commeth
passe that their enemies haue all othe
men in suspicion, & be vnfaithfull, a
mistrusting among thēselues one to a
other, liuing in great feare, and in
lesse ieopardie. For it is well knowe
that diuers times the most part of t
(& speciallie the prince him selfe) hath
bene betraied of them, in whō they p
their moste hope & trust. So that the
is no maner of act nor dede that gift
and rewardes do not enforce men vnt
And in rewardes they kepe no me
sure. But remēbring & considering i
to how great hasarde & ieopardie th
cal them, endeuoure themselues to r
compence the greatnes of the daung
with like great benefites. And ther
fore they promise not only wonderfu
gre

greate abundaunce of golde, but also
landes of greate reuenues lieyng in most
faffe places among theire frendes.
And theire promisses they performe
faythfully withoute annye fraude or
coupne. This custome of byinge
and sellynge aduersaryes among other
people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte
of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde.
But they in this behalfe thinke them-
selfes muche prayse woorthy, as who
lyke wyse men by this meanes dis-
patche greate warres withoute annye
battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte
it also a dede of pytye and mercye, bi-
cause that by the deathe of a fewe
offenders the lyues of a greate num-
bre of innocentes, aswel of theire owne
men as also of theire enemies be raun-
somed & saued, which in fightyng shou-
de haue bene sleane. For they doo no
lesse pytye the basse and common sorte
of theire enemies people, then they doo
theire owne: knowyng y they be driuen
& enforced to warre againste their wil-
les by the furyous madnes of theire
kynges and heades. Yf by none of these

meanes the matter goo forwarde, a
they woulde haue it, then they procur
occasyons of debate, and dissentio
to be spredde amonge theire enemies
As by bringinge the princes brother
or some of the noble men in hoope t
obtayne the kingedome. Yf this way
preuayle not, then they reyse vp th
people that be nexte neyghboures an
borderers to theire enemyes, and the
they sette in theire neckes vnder th
coloure of some olde tytle of rygh
suche as kynges doo neuer lacke. T
them they promysse theire helpe an
ayde in theire warre. And as for mo
neye they gyue them abundaunce. Be
of theire owne cytyzens they sende
them fewe or none. Whome they mak
so much of, and loue so intierlye, tha
they would not be willig to chaūge
nye of thē for their aduersaries princ
But their gold and siluer, bycause th
kepe it all for thys only purpose, th
laye it owte frankly and freely: as wh
shoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if th
hadde bestowed it euerye pennye. Y
and belydes theire ryches, whych
the

they kepe at home, they haue also an infinite treasure abrode, by reason that (as I sayde before) many nations be in their debte. Therefore they hiere soldiours oute of all countreis and sende them to battayle, but cheifly of the Zapoletes. This people is 500. myles from Utopia eastewarde. They be hideous, sauage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde & brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and sustaine heate, colde, & labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes. occuppenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in the buildinge of their houses & in their apparrel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge & bringynge vp of cattel. The moste parte of theire lyuinge is by huntynge and stealynge. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentlye and earnestelye seke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of theire countreye in greate companyes toge-

ther, and who soeuer lacketh the souldy-
ours, there they proffer theire seruic
for small wages. This is onelye thi
craste that they haue to gette theire li
uynge by. They mayntayne theire ly
fe, bylekinge theire deathe. For them
whomewyth they be in wayges they
fyghte hardelye, fyerslye, and fayther
fullye. But they byinde themselfe
for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this
condition they entre into bondes, tha
the nexte daye they wyll take part
with the other syde for greatter way
ges, and the nexte daye after that, the
wyll be readye to come backe agayn
for a lytle more monеye. There be fe
we warres therewaye, wherin is no
a greate numbre of them in bothe par
tyes. Therefore it dayelye chaunceth
that nye kynsefolke whyche were hi
red together on one parte, and ther
verye frendelye and familiarlye vse
themselfes one wyth another, shortel
after beinge separate into contrary
partes, renne one againste anothe
enuyouslye and fyercelye: and forget
tinge bothe kindred and frendeshyp
thru

thrust their swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyred of contrarye princes for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so highlye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfepenye more wages by the daye. So quyckelye they haue taken a smacke in couetesenes. Whyche for all that is to them no profyte. For that they gette by fyghtynge, immedyatelye they spende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynste all nations, because they geue them greatter wayges, then anye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to vse wel, so they seke these euell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great ieopardyes. From whens the moste parte of them neuer cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine aliue they paye ye which they promissed faithfully, that they maye be

the more willinge to put themselfes in
like daũger another time. Nor ẏ Uto-
pianes passe not how many of thẽ they
bring to destruction. For they beleue ẏ
they should doo a verye good deade for
all mankind, if they could ridde out of
ẏ wordle all that fowle stinking denn
of that most wicked and cursed people
Next vnto thies they vse ẏ soldiours
of them for whom they fighte. And th
the helpe of their other frendes. An
laste of all, they ioyne to theire oun
citizẽs. Emõg whõe they giue to one o
tried vertue & prowes the reule, goo
uernaunce, & conduction of the who
armye. Under him they appoyn
ij. other, whyche, whyles he is sauff
be bothe priuate and oute of offyc
But yf he be taken or slayne, the one
the other. ij. succedeth hym, as it we
by inherytaunce. And if the secon
miscarrye, then the thirde taketh h
rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce
battell is vncerteine and doubtful) t
ieopardye or deathe of the capita
shoulde brynge the whole armye
hasarde. They chuese soldyours o

of euery citye those, whych putte fur-
the themselfes wyllyngelye. For they
thruste no man forthe into warre a-
gaynste his wyll. Bycause they be-
leue, yf aunye man be fearefull and
fainte harted of nature, he wyll not
onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte
hym selfe, but also be occasyon of co-
wardenes to his fellowes. But if an-
nye battell be made agaynste theire
owne countreye, then they putt these
cowardes (so that they be stronge bo-
dyed) in shyppes amonge other bolde
harted men. Or elles they dyspose
thē vpon the walles, from whens they
maye not flye. Thus what for sha-
me that theire enemies be at hande,
and what for bycause they be without
hope of runninge awaye, they forgette
all feere. And manye times extreame
necessitye turnethe cowardnes into pro
wes and manlynes. But as none of
thē is thrust forthe of his countreye into
warre againste his wyll, so women
that be wyllynge to accompany theire
husbandes in times of warre be not
prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke

and exhorte them to it with prayses. And in set fylde the wyues doo stande euerye one by theire owne husbandes syde. Also euery man is compassed nere aboute with his owne children, kinsfolkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefly moueth to mutual succoure, thus standynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche, & dishonesty for the husbād to come home without his wife, or the wyfe without her husbande, or the sonne without his father. And therfore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battel come to their hādes, it is fought with great slaughter & bloodshed, euen to the vtter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselfes from the necessitye of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battel by their hiered soldyours: so whē there is no remedy, but that they muste needes fight thēselfes, then they do as corragiously fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wisely auoyde & refuse it. For they be not most fierce a-

the first bront. But in cōtinuaunce by litle and lytle theire fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye thengyue backe an ynche. For that suertye of lyuinge, whiche euerye man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remēbraunce how theire posteritie shall lyue after them (for this pensifnes oftentymes breakethe and abateth couragious stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineful to be conquered. Moreouer theire knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euē from theire childhode, partely through learnynge, and partelye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of theire weale publique augmente and encrease theire manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so litle store by their liues, that they will rasshely & vnaduisedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde & fond loue therewith, that they

will

The capitaine is chiefelye to be pursued to thintente the battell maye the sonet be ended.

will shamefullye couete to kepe them, whē honestie biddeth leaue thē. Wher the battel is hottest & in al places most fierce & feruent, a bende of chosen and picked yong men, whiche be swome to liue & dye togethers, take vpon thē to destroye theire aduersaries capitaine. Whōe they inuade now w̄ priuy wieles, now by open strength. At him they strike both nere & farre of. He is assayled with a long & a continuall assaulte freshe men styll commynge in the weried mens places. And seldome it chaūceth (onles he saue hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taki prisoner, & yelded to his enemies aliue. If they wynne the fyelde, they persecute not theire enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them aliue, then kyl thē. Neither they do so follow the chase & pursute of theire enemies, but they leaue behinde them one parte of theire hosti in battaile arraye vnder their standardes. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and ouercum sauing the rerewarde, & that they there

with

with atchieue the victory, thē they had
rather lette al their enemies scape, then
to followe them out of array. For they
remēbre, it hath chaūced vnto thēselfes
more then ones: the whole powre and
strēgth of their hoste being vanquished
& put to flight, whiles their enemies re
oysing in the victory haue persecuted
them flying some one way & some ano-
ther, a smalle campanye of theire men
lying in an ambushe, there redy at all
occasions, haue sodainelye rysen vpon
them thus dispersed & scattered oute
of arraye, and through presumption of
safety vnaduisedly pursuing the chase:
and haue incontinent changed the for-
tune of the whole battayll: and spite
of theire tethes wrestinge oute of their
handes the sure & vndouted victorye,
being a litle before conquered, haue for
their parte cōquered the cōquerers. It
is hard to say whether they be craftier
in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in
auoydinge the same. You would thinke
they intende to flye, when they meane
nothinge lesse. And contrarye wyse
when they go about that purpose, you
would

wold beleue it were the leaste parte of
their thought. For if they perceaue thē
selues either ouermatched in nūbre, or
closed in too narrowe a place, thē they
remoue their campe either in the night
season with silence, or by some pollicie
they deceaue theire enemies, or in the
day time they retiere backe so softelye
that it is no lesse ieoperdie to medle wt
thē whē they geue backe, thē when they
preese on. They fence and fortifie their
campe sewerlye with a deape & a brode
trēche. The earth therof is cast īward.
For they do not set drudgeis & slaues
a worke about it. It is doone by the hā
des of the souldiours thē selues. All the
whole armye worketh vpon it: excepte
them that kepe watche and warde in
harneis before the trenche for sodeine
auentures Therefore by the labour of
so manye a large trenche closinge in a
greate compasse of grounde is made in
lesse tyme then anye man woulde be-
leue. Theire armoure or harneys,
wbiche they weare, is sure and strong
to receaue strokes, and handsome for
all moulinges and gestures of the bo-

dye

Theire armoure

dye, insomuche that it is not vnwelde
to swymme in. For in the discipline of
theire warefare amonge other feates
thei learne to swimme i harnes. Their
weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche
they shote both strongely and surelye,
not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen.
At hande strokes they vse not swordes
but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aswell
in sharpenes as in weyghte, bothe for
foynes and downe strokes. Engines
for warre they deuyse and inuent won
ders wittelye. Whiche when they be
made they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf
they shoulde be knowen before neade
requyre, they should be but laughed at
and serue to no purpose. But in ma-
kynge them hereunto they haue chiefe
respecte, that they be both easy to be ca-
ried, and handsome to be moued, and
turned about. Truce taken with their Of truces
enemies for a shorte time they do so fir
melye and faythfullye keape, that they
wyll not breake it: no not though they
be thereunto prouoked. They doe not
waste nor destroy theire enemies lande
with forraginges, nor they burne not

by

vp theire corne . Yea, they saue it a
muche as may be from being ouerrun
and troden downe either with men o
horses, thinkinge that it growethe fo
theire owne vse and profit. They hur
no man that is vnarmed, onles he b
an espiall. All cities that be yelded vn
to them, they defende . And suche a
they wynne by force of assaulte, the
neither dispople nor sacke, but the tha
withstode and dyssuaded the yeldyng
vp of the same, they put to deathe, th
other souldiours they punnyshe wit
bondage. All the weake multitude the
leaue vntouched . If they knowe tha
anye cytezeins counselled to yealde
rendre vp the citie, to them they gyu
parte of the condemned mens goode
The residewe they distribute and giu
frelye amonge them, whose helpe the
had in the same warre . For non
of them selfes taketh anye portion o
the praye . But when the battaile
finished and ended, they put their
frendes to neuer a penny costе of al th
charges that they were at, but laye
vpon theire neckes that be conquere

Them they burdene with the whole charge of theire expẽces, whiche they demaunde of them partely in money to be kept for like vse of battell, and partely in landes of greate reuenues to be payde vnto them yearely for euer. Suche reuenues they haue now in many countreis. Whiche by litle and litle rysinge of dyuers and sondry causes be increased aboue .vij. hũdreth thousand ducates by the yere. Thether they sende forth some of their citezeins as Lieuetenauntes, to liue there sumptuously like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withstandinge muche money is saued, which cõmeth to the cõmen treasory: onles it so chaũce, that they had rather trust ẏ coũtrey wt the money, which many times they do so lõg, vntil they haue nede to occupie it. And it seldõe happeneth, that thei demaũd al. Of these lãdes they assigne part vnto thẽ, which at their request & exhortacion put themselues in such ieoperdies, as I spake of before. If anye prince stirre vp warre agaynste them, intending to inuade theire lande, they

mete hym incontinent oute of their owne borders with greate powre and strengthe. For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne countret. Nor they be neuer brought into so extreme necessitie as to take helpe out of forreyne landes into their owne Iland.

¶ Of the religions in Utopia.

There be diuers kindes of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Iland but also in diuers places of euery cytie. Some worshippe for God the sōne some the mone: some, some other of the planettes. There be that giue worshippe to a man that was ones of excellente vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest hygbest God. But the moste and the wysest parte (reiectynge al these) beleue, that there is a certayne God

powre

powre vnknowen, euerlastinge, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and reache of mans witte, dispersed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue & power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginninges, the encreasinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geue any diuine honours to any other thē to him. Yea al ẏ other also, though they be in diuers opiniōs, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wisest sorte, in beleuing that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, & amonge some an other. For euery one of thē, whatsoeuer ẏ is whiche he taketh for the chiefe god, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whose only diuine mighte and maiestie, the sūme and soueraintie of al thinges by the consēt of al people is attributed and geuen. Howbeit they all

begyn by litle and litle to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitiõs, and to agre togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the residewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo haue bene abolished, but that whatsoeuer vnprosperous thynge happened to anie of them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge commynge by chaunce, but assente from GOD out of heauen. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forsakynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great numbre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleue with howe gladde myndes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that they

thoughe

thought it nieghest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefest. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe & furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde vs say, that Christ instituted among his, al thinges cõmẽ: and that the same communitie doth yet remaine amõgest the rightest Christian companies. Merely howsoeuer it came to passe, manye of thẽ consented togethers in our religion, & were washed in ꝑ holy water of baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left a liue, two of our cõpanye beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beynge entered & instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke onely those sacramẽtes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they vnderstãd & perceiue thẽ, & be very desierous of ꝑ same. Yea, they reasõ & dispute ꝑ matter earnestly amõg thẽselues, whether wout ꝑ sẽding of a christiã bishop, one chosẽ out of their own people may receaue the ordre of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuese one. But at my depar

Religious how les.

cure from them they had chosen none.
They also which do not agree to Chri
stes religion, feare no man from it, nor
speake against any man that hath recei
ued it. Sauing that one of our cõpany
in my presence was sharpely punished.
He as soone as he was baptised, began
against our willes, with more earneste
affection, then wisedome, to reason of
Christes religiõ: and began to ware so
hote in his matter, that he did not on-
lye preferre our religiõ before al other,
but also did vtterly despise & cõdẽpne
all other, calling thẽ prophane, & the fo
lowers of them wicked & deuelish, and
the children of euerlastinge dãpnation.
When he had thus longe reasoned the
matter, they laid holde on him, accused
him, and condẽpned him into exile, not
as a despiser of religion, but as a sedi-
cious person, & a raiser vp of dissentiõ
amonge the people. For this is one of
the auncientest lawes amonge thẽ: that
no man shall be blamed for resoninge
in the maintenaunce of his owne religi
on. For lyng Utopus, euẽ at the firste
begynning, hearing ẏ the inhabitaũtes

of

of the land wer before his cõming thether, at continuall dissention & strife amonge themselues for their religions: perceyuing also that this cõmon dissention (whiles euery seuerall secte tooke seueral partes in fighting for their commune) was the only occasion of his conquest ouer them al, assone as he had gotten the victory: Firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure & folow what religion he would, & that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceablie, gentelie, quietly, & soberlie, without hastie & contentious rebuking & inueighing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them vnto his opinõ yet he should vse no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte & seditious woordes. To him that would vehementlye and feruentlye in this cause striue & contende was decreed, banishment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Vtopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention & mortal hatred

Seditious reasoners punished.

vtterly extinguished: but also because
he thought this decrie should make for
the furtherauance of religion. Wherof
he durst define and determine nothing
vnaduisedlie, as douting whether god
desiering manifolde & diuerse sortes of
honour, would inspire sondry mē with
sondrie kindes of religion. And this ut
erly he thought a very vnmete & foolish
thing, & a pointe of arrogant presump
tion, to compell all other by violence &
threateninges to agre to thesame, that
thou beleuest to be trew. Furthermore
thoughe there be one religion, which
alone is trew, & al other vaine & super
stitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that
the matter were handeled w̄ reason, &
sober modestie) that the trueth of the
own powre would at the last issue out
and come to lyghte. But if contention
and debate in that behalfe should con
tinuallye be vsed, as the woorste men
be moste obstinate and stubbourne
and in their cupll opinion moste con
stante: he perceaued that then the best
and holyest religion woulde be trode
vnderfote and destroyed by most vain
su

superstitions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouergrowen and chooked. Therfore all this matter he lefte vndiscussed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie and choise to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that he earnestelye and straitelye charged them, that no man shoulde conceaue so vile and baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do die and perishe with the bodye: or that the world rūneth at al auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therfore thei beleue that after this life vices be extreamelye punished and vertues bountifully rewarded. Hym that is of a cōtrary opinion they coūte not in the numbre of men, as one that hathe abated the heighe nature of hys soule to the vilnes of brute beastes bodies: muche lesse in the numbre of their citizies, whose lawes and ordenaūces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothyng at al esteme. For you maye be suer that he will studie either with craft priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in

No vile opinion to be conceaued of mās worthy nature

whom remaineth no further feare the
of the lawes, nor no further hope then
of the bodye. Wherfore he that is thus
minded is depriued of all honours, ex
cluded from all offices, and reiecte frō
all cōmon administratiōs in the weale
publique. And thus he is of all sortes
despised, as of an vnprofitable, & of a
base & vile nature. Howbeit they put
him to no punishment, because they be
persuaded, that it is in no mans power
to beleue what he list. No nor they con
straine hym not with threatninges to
dissēble his minde, & shew countenaūce
contrarie to his thought. For deceit &
falshod & all maners of lies, as next vn
to fraude, they do meruelously detest
and abhorre. But they suffer him not
to dispute in his opinion, & that onelye
amonge the commen people. For els
aparte amonge the priestes and men of
grauitie they do not onelye suffer, but
also exhorte him to dispute & argue: ho
ping that at the last, that madnes will
geue place to reason. There be also
other, and of them no small numbre,
which

Irreligious people seclu ded from all honours.

A very straūg sayinge.

Deceit & falshod detested.

which be not forbidden to speake their mindes, as grounding their opinion vpō some reason, beyng in their liuing neither euell nor vicious. Their heresie is much cōtrarie to the other. For they beleue that the soules of brute beastes be immortall and euerlasting. But nor thynge to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined and predestinate to like felicitie. For al they beleue certeinly and sewerly that mans blesse shal be so great, that they do mourne & lamēt euery mans sickues, but no mās death, oneles it be one whome they see depart frō his life carefullie, & agaynst his will. For this they take for a verye euel token, as though the soule beynge in dispaire, & vered in cōsciēce, through some priuie and secret forefeling of the punishement now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he shall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawen by force and sore against his will. They therfore that see this kinde of deathe, do abhorre it, and them that so die, they burie wō sorow and silence

A maruelous straunge opinion touching the soules of brute beastes.

To die vnwillyngly an euel token.

And

A willing and merye death not to be lamented.

And when they haue prayed God to b
mercifull to the soule, & mercifully t
pardō the infirmities therof, they couer
the dead coorse with earth. Contrarie
wise all that departe merely and ful o
good hope, for thē no mā mourneth, but
followeth the heerse with ioyfull syn
ging, cōmending the soules to God v
great affectiō. And at the last, not with
mourning sorrow, but with a great re
uerēce they bourne the bodies. And in
the same place they sette vp a piller o
stone, with the dead mans titles therin
graued. When they be come home they
reherse his vertuous maners and his
good dedes. But no part of his life is so
oft or gladly talked of, as his meri eth.
They thinke that this remēbraunce of
the vertue & goodnes of the dead doeth
vehemētly prouoke & enforce the liuīg
to vertue. And that nothing cā be more
pleasaunt and acceptable to the deade.
Whō they suppose to be present amōg
thē, whē they talke of them, though to
the dull & feble eielight of mortall men
they be inuisible. For it were an vncon
uenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde
not

not be at libertie to goo whether they
woulde. And it were a pointe of greate
unkindnes in them to haue vtterly cast
awaye the desire of visitinge and seing
their frendes, to whome they were in
their life time ioyned by mutuall loue
and amitie. Whiche in good men after
their deathe they counte to be rather
increased thē diminished. They beleue
therefore that the deade be presentlye
conuersaunt amonge the quicke, as be-
holders and witnesses of all their wor-
des and deedes. Therfore they go more
corragiously to their busines as hauīg
a trust and affiaunce in such ouerseers.
And this same belefe of the present con
uersation of their forefathers & aūce-
tours among them, feareth them from
all secrete dishonestie. They vtterly
despise & mocke sothsayinges & diuina
tions of thinges to come by the flighte
or voices of birdes, and all other diui-
nations of vaine superstition, whiche
in other countreis be in greate obser-
uation. But they highlye esteme
and worshyppe miracles that come
by no healpe of nature, as woorkes

Sothsayers not regarded nor treated.

Miracles.

and

and witnesses of the presente power o
God. And suche they saye do chaunc
there verye often. And sometimes in
great and doubtefull matters, by com
men intercession and prayers, they pro
cure and obteine thē with a sure hop
and confidence, and a stedfast belefe.

The life contemplatiue.

They thinke that the contemplation
of nature, and the prayse thereof com
minge, is to God a very acceptable ho
noure. Yet there be many so earnestlye
bent and affectioned to religion, that
they passe no thig for lernig, nor geue
their mīdes to any knowledge of thin
ges. But ydelnes they vtterly forsake
and eschue, thinking felicitie after this
life to be gotten & obteined by busie la
bors & good exercises. Some therfore
of thē attende vpō the sicke, some amēd
high waies, clense ditches, repaire brid
ges, digge turfes, grauell, and stones,
fel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne
and other thinges into the cities in car
tes, and serue not onelye in commen
woorkes, but also in priuate labourers
as seruauntes, yea, more thē bondmen.
For what so euer vnpleasaunt, harde,

The life active.

and

nd vile woꝛke is anye where, from the
vhiche labour, lothsomnes, and despe-
atiō doth fray other, al that they take
pon them willingly and gladly, procu
ing quiete & rest to other, remaininge
n continual woꝛke and labour them-
elues, not embꝛaidinge others there-
vith . They neither repꝛoue other
nens liues, noꝛ gloꝛie in theire owne.
These men the moꝛe seruiceable they
behaue thēselues, the moꝛe they be ho
noured of all men. Yet they be diuided
nto two sectes. The one is of thē that
liue single & chast, abstaining not onely
rom the companie of women, but also
rom eating of flesche, and some of them
rom all maner of beastes, Vhiche vt-
erly reiecting the pleasures of this pꝛe
ent life as hurtfull, be all vholye set
pon the desier of the lyfe to come by
watchynge, and sweatynge, hoopinge
hoꝛtlye to obtaine it, being in the meane
eason merie and lustie. The other secte
s no lesse desirous of laboure, but they
embꝛace matrimonye, not despisynge
he solace therof, thinking that they cā
not be discharged of their bounden du-

ties

cies towardes nature without labou
and toyle, nor towardes their natiu
countrey without procreation of chi
dren. They abstaine from no pleasu
that doeth nothinge hinder them fro
labour. They loue the flesh of four
footed beastes, because they beleue th
by ẏ meate they be made hardier & stro
ger to worke. The Utopians coun
this secte the wiser, but the other th
holier. Which in that they preferre li
gle life before matrimony, & that sha
life before an easier life, if herein the
groũded vpõ reason they would moc
them. But now forasmuch as they sa
they be led to it by religiõ, they hono
& worship thẽ. And these be they whom
in their language by a peculiar name
they cal Buthrescas, the which word
by interpretation signifieth to vs me
of religion or religious mẽ. They hau
priestes of exceding holines, & therefor
very few. For there be but xiij. in ever
citie according to the number of thei
churches, sauyng when they go furth
to battell. For than .vij. of them goo
furth with the armie: in whose steades

It is not all one to be wise and good.

Priestes.

so

o manie newe be made at home. Bue
he other at theirreturne home again
centre euery one into his owne place,
hey that be aboue the numbre, vntill
uche time as they succede into the pla
es of the other at their dyinge, be in
he meane season continuallie in com
anie with the bishoppe. For he is the
hiefe head of thē al. They be chosen of
he people, as the other magistrates be
y secrete voices for the auoydinge of
trife. After their electiō they be conse
rate of their own cōpanie. They be o-
erseers of al diuine matters, orderers
f religions, and as it wer iudges and
naisters of maners. And it is a great
shonestie & shame to be rebuked or
pokē to by any of thē for dissolute and
incōtinēt liuing But as it is their of-
ice to geue good exhortatiōs & coūsel,
o is it ȳ dutie of the prince & the other
nagistrates to correct and punishe offē
ers, saunge that the priestes, whome
hey find exceading vicious liuers, thē
bey excommunicate from hauing anye
nterest in diuine matters. And there is
lmoste no punishement amonge them
more

Excommunica
tion.

more feared. For they runne in very great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a secret feare of religion, and shall not long scape free with their bodies. For vnlesse they by quicke repentaunce approue the amēdement of their liues to the priestes, they be taken and punished of the counsel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is instructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to instruct them in learning, then in vertue & good maners. For they vse with verie great endeuour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conseruation of their weale publique. Which whē they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence & maintenaūce of the state of the cōmē welth. Whiche neuer decaieth but through vices rising of euill opinions. The priestes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priesthoode, howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but

Women priestes.

widdowes

widdowes and old womē) the mē priestes, I saye, take to their wifes the chiefest women in all their countreye. For to no office amōg the vtopians is more honour and preeminence geuen. In so much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no cōmen iudgemēt, but be left only to god & thēselfes. For thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he neuer so vitious, whiche after so singular a sort was dedicate and consecrate to god, as a holly offering. This maner may they easelye obserue, bicause they haue so fewe priestes, & do chuse thē with such circūspection. For it scasely euer chaūceth, that the moste vertuous amonge vertuous, which ī respect only of his vertue is auaunced to so high a dignity, can fal to vice & wickednes. And if it should chaūce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reasō they be so fewe, and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared ẏ anye great dammage by them should happen and ensue to the cōmen wealthe. They haue so rare and fewe

The maiestie and preeminence of priestes

prieſtes, leaſt if the honour were cõmu-
nicated to many, ỹ dignitie of the ordre,
which amõg thẽ now is ſo highly eſte-
med, ſhould rũe in contẽpt. Specially be-
cauſe they thincke it hard to find ma
ny ſo good, as to be meet for that digni
ty, to the executiõ & diſcharge whereof
it is not ſufficiente to be endued with
meane vertues. Furthermore theſe prie
ſtes be not more eſtemed of their owne
countrey mẽ, then they be of forrein &
ſtraũge coũtreis. Which thinge maye
hereby plainly appere. And I thinke al
ſo ỹ this is the cauſe of it. For whiles ỹ
armies be fighting together in opẽ feld
they a litle beſide not farre of kneli
vpõ their knees ī their hallowed veſti
mẽtes, holding vp their hãdes to hea
uen: praing firſt of all for peace, nexti
for victory of their owne parte, but te
neyther part a bluddy victory. If thei
hoſt gette the vpper hãd, they runne in
to the mayne battayle, and reſtrayn
their owne men from ſleying & cruelly
purſuinge theire vanquyſhed enemies.
Wherche enemyes, yf they doo but ſe
them and ſpeake to them, it is ynough
ſo

for the sauegarde of theire lyues. And the touching of theire clothes defendeth and saueth al their goodes frō rauine and spoyle. This thinge hathe auaūced them to so greate worshyp and trewe maiesty among al natiōs, that manye times they haue aswel preserued theire own citizēs from ꝑ cruel force of their enemies, as they haue theire enemies from the furyous rage of theire owne men. For it is well knowen, that when theire owne army hathe reculed, and in dyspayre turned backe, and runne away, their ennemies fyersly pursuing with slaughter and spoyle, thē the priestes cumming betwene haue stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in suche reuerence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye touched. They kepe hollye the firste and the laste daye of

euerye moneth and yeare, diuydinge the yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in theire language Cynemernes, and the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primisse and finisest, or els in our speache, first feaste and last feast. Their churches be verye gorgious, and not onelye of fine and curious workemāship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, & hable to receaue a great cōpany of people. But they be al somwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignorannce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Bicause they thought that ouermuch light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme & doubtful lighte they be gathered together, & more earnestly fixed vpon religiō & deuotion: Which bicause it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold, agre together

The obseruacion of holy daies amonge the Vtopians

Their churcheis

Churcheis of dimme light and a reason why

in

in the honour of the diuine nature, as goyng diuers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is seene nor heard in ỹ churches, but that semeth to agree indifferētly with thē all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye seueral secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The cōmon sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor prejudice to anye of the priuate sacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is seene in the churche, to the intente it maye bee free for euery man to conceiue god by their religion after what likenes & similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the diuine maiestie whatsoeuer it be. No prayers bee vsed but suche as euerye man maye boldelie pronounce without the offendinge of annye secte. They come therefore to the churche, the laste day of euerye moneth and yeare in the euenynge yet fastinge, there to gyue thankes to GOD for that they haue prosperouslye passed

ouer the yeare or monethe, wherof that holye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the churche earlye in the morninge, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and succesſe all the newe yeare or monethe whyche they doo begynne of that same holye daye. But in the holy dayes that be the laſte dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the churche, the wiues fall downe proſtrat before theire husbandes feet at home, & the children before the feete of their parentes, confeſſinge and acknowlegynge theſelfes offēders either by some actuy all dede, or by omiſſion of their deuty, & deſire pardō for their offenſe. Thus yf anye cloude of priuy diſpleaſure was risen at home, by this ſatiſfaction it is ouerblowen, that they may be preſente at the ſacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be afeard to cōe there with troubled conſcīēces. Therefore if they knowe themſelfes to beare anye hatred or grudge towardes anye man, they preſume not to come to ỹ ſacrifices, before they haue reconciled them

The confeſſion of the Vtopians

themselfes and purged theire consciences, for feare of greate vengeaunce and punyshemente for their offense. Whan they come thether, the men goo into the ryghte syde of the churche, & the wom̄e into the lefte syde. There they place themselfes in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in euery household sitte before the goodm̄a of ỹ house, and they of the female kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forsene that all their gestures and behauiours be marked and obserued abrode of th̄e by whose authority and discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligētly see vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge ioyned together, they should passe ouer ỹ time ī childish wā-tōnes, wherin they ought p̄cipally to conceaue a religious and deuoute feare towardes god: which is the chiefe and almost ỹ only incitatiō to vertu. They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geuen life to beastes to

An order for places in the Churche.

Ceremonies

the intēt they should leue. They burne frāckēsence, and other sweet sauours, and light also a greate numbre of ware candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing auaylable to the diuine nature, as neither ye prayers of mē. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet sauoures and lightes, & other such ceremonies mē feele thēselfes secretlye lifted vp, & encouraged to deuotion with more willynge and feruent hartes. The people wearethe in the churche white apparell. The priest is clothed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stuffe not verye pretious. For theire vestimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and cōningelye with diuers feathers of foules, that the estimation of no costely stuffe is hable to cōsteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, & ī the dewe ordre of them, whiche is obserued in theire setting, they saye, is cōteyned certaine

diuine

diuine misteries. The interpretation whereof knowē, whiche is diligentlye taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them: and of the loue and honoure whiche of theire behalfe is dewe to God: and also of their deuties one towarde another. When the priest first cōmeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incōtinent euerye one reuerentlye to the ground, with so still silence on euerye part, that the very faction of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they haue lien a litle space on the ground, the priest geuethe them a signe for to ryse. Thē they sing prayses vnto God, whiche they intermixt with instrumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fashions then these that we vse in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceding farre beyonde vs. For all their musike

Theire church musike

bothe

bothe that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound & tune is so applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger: the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, sterre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in woordes, expresslye pronounced, so made that euerye man maye priuatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers euerye man recognisethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, & the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaued at his hande. But namelye that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moste happye and welthye, and hathe chosen

Prayers.

that

hat religion, whyche he hopeth to be
noste true. In the whyche thinge if he
doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any
other better then eyther of thē is, being
more acceptable to God, he desirethe
him that he wyl of his goodnes let him
haue knowledge thereof, as one that
is ready too followe what way soeuer
he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme
and fashion of a commen wealthe bee
beste, and his owne relygion moste true
and perfecte, then he desyrethe GOD
to gyue hym a constaunte stedefastnes
in the same, and too bringe all other
people to the same ordre of lyuynge,
and to the same opinion of God onles
there bee annye thinge that in this
diuersitye of religions dothe delite his
vnsercheable pleasure. To be shorte he
prayeth hym, that after his deathe he
maye come to hym. But how soone or
late that he dare not assygne or deter-
mine. Howebeit, if it myght stande
with his maiesties pleasure, he woulde
be muche gladder to dye a paynefull
deathe & so to goo to God, thē by longe
lyuing in worldlye prosperitye to bee
awaye

awaye from him. When this prayer is said they fal doune to the ground again and a lytle after they ryse vp and go to dinner. And the residewe of the daye they passe ouer in playes, and exercise of chiualrye. Nowe I haue declared & described vnto you, as trulye as I coulde the fourme & ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my iudgment is not only the beste, but also that which alone of good right maye claime & take vpon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But euery man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Here where nothinge is priuate, the commen affaires bee earnestlye loked vpon. And truelye on both partes they haue good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterue for honger, onles he make some seuerall prouision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe florysshe neuer so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of verye necessitie to haue regarde to him selfe, rather then

to

to the people, that is to saye, to other. Cõtrary wyse there where all thinges be commẽ to euery man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lacke anye thinge necessary for his priuate vses: so that the cõmẽ store houses & bernes be sufficientlye stored. For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyshe sorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And thoughe no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is ryche. For what cã be more riche, thẽ to lyue ioyfully & merely, without al griefe & pẽsifenes: Not caring for his owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled w̃ his wifes importunate complaynetes, nor dreadynge pouertie to his sonne, nor sorrowyng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuyng and wealthe of themselfes and al theirs, of theire wyfes, theire chyldren, theire nephewes, theire childrens chyldren, and all the succession that euer shall followe in theire posteritie. And yet beside this there is no lesse prouision for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent,

potent, then for them that do nowe la-
boure and take payne. Here nowe
woulde I see, yf anye man dare bee so
bolde as to compare with this equy-
tie, the iustice of other nations. Among
whom, I forsake God, if I can fynde
any signe or token of equitie & iustice.
For what iustice is this, that a ryche
goldesmythe, or an vsurer, or to bee
shorte anye of them, which either doo
nothing at all, or els that whyche they
doo is such, that it is not very necessa-
ry to the common wealth, should haue
a pleasaunte and a welthie lyuinge,
either by Idlenes, or by vnnecessarye
busines: Whē in the meane tyme poore
labourers, carters, yronsmythes,
carpenters, and plowmen, by so greate
and continual toyle, as drawing & bea-
ringe beastes be skant hable to sustaine,
& againe so necessary toyle, that with-
out it no common wealth were hable to
cōtinewe & endure one yere, should yet
get so harde and poore a lyuing, & lyue
so wretched & miserable a lyfe, that the
state and condition of the labouringe
beastes maye seme muche better and

welthier? For they be not put to soo continuall labour, nor theire lyuinge is not muche worse, yea to them muche pleasaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane season for the tyme to come. But these seilye poore wretches be presently tormented with barreyne & vnfrutefull labour. And the remembrãce of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them vp. For theire dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an vniust and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmythes, & to suche other, whiche be either pyle persones, or els onlye flatterers, and deuysers of vayne pleasures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, colliers, labourers, carters, yronsmythes, and carpenters: without whome no commen wealth cã cõtinewe? But after it hath abused the labours of theire lucky and

flowrynge

flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age and sycknes: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, the forgettyng their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth and acquyteth them moste vnkyndly with myserable death. And yet besides this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but also by comē lawes do euery day pluck & snatche awaye from the poore some parte of their daily liuig. So where as it semed before vniuste to recompense with vnkindnes their paynes that haue bene beneficiall to the publique weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong & vniuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geuen the name of iustice, yea & that by force of a law. Therfore whē I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do florish, so god helpeme, I can perceaue nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne cōmodities vnder the name and title of the cōmen wealth. They inuent

and

and deuise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare of leesing, that they haue vniustly gathered together, & next how to hire and abuse the worke and labour of the poore for as litle money as may be. These deuises, when the riche mē haue decreed to be kept and obserued vnder coloure of the commīnaltie, that is to saye, also of the poore people, thē they be made lawes. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their vnsatiable couetousnes deuided among themselues al those thinges, which woulde haue sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the welth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, in that all the desire of money with the vse thereof is vtterly secluded & banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasiō of wickednes and mischiefe is plucked vp by ỹ rotes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, strife, chiding, cōtentiō, murder, treasō, poisoning, which by daily punishmēces are rather reuēged

Contempte of Money.

then refrained, do dye when money dieth? And also that feare, griefe, care, laboures, and watchinges do perish euen the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea pouerty it selfe, which only semed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease & vanishe away. And that you may perceaue this more plainly, consider with your selfes some barein & vnfruteful yeare, wherin many thousandes of people haue starued for hunger: I dare be bolde to say, ỹ in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might haue bene foūd ī the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched, as being diuided among them whome famine and pestilence then cōsumed, no man at al should haue felt that plague and penury. So easely might mē gette their liuing, if that same worthye princesse lady money did not alone stop vp the waye betwene vs and oure liuing, whiche a goddes name was very excellētly deuised & inuēted, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am sewer the ryche men perceaue this, nor they be not ignorannte how much

better

better it were too lacke noo necessarye thing, then to abunde with ouermuche superfluite: to be ryd oute of innumerable cares & troubles, thē to be beseiged and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the respecte of euery mans priuate commoditie, or els the authority of oure sauioure Christe (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, & for his inestimable goodnes could not but coūsel to that which he knew to be best) wold haue brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it wer not ẏ one only beast, ẏ prīcesse and mother of all mischiefe Pride, doth withstande and let it. She measurethe not wealth and prosperity by her owne cōmodities, but by the miserie & incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be made a goddesse, yf there were no wretches left, ouer whom she might like a scorneful ladie rule & triumph, ouer whose miseries her felicities mighte shyne, whose pouertie she myghte vere, tormente, and encrease by gorgiouslye settynge furthe her richesse. Thys hell hounde creapeth in-

Amernelous sayinge.

Prydes

Comens hartes: and plucketh the backe from entering the right pathe of life, & is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she cā not be plucked out. This fourme and fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wish vnto al nations: I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the vtopiās, which haue folowed those institutions of life, whereby they haue laid such foundations of their commō wealth, as shal cōtinew & last not only wealthely, but also as far as mās wit may iudge and cōiecture, shall endure for euer. For, seyng the chiefe causes of ambitiō & sedition, with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of domisticall dissention, whiche alone hathe caste vnder foote and brought to noughte the well fortified and strongest defenced wealthe and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect cōcorde remaineth, & wholsome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or moue the empire, though they haue many tymes lōg ago gone about to do it, beyng

euery

euermore driuen backe. Thus whē Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mīd, which in the maners and lawes of that people semed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashiō of their cheualry, & in their sacrifices and religions, & in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of all their ordinaunces, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and liuynge, without anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, worshippe, honour, and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a cōmon wealth, vtterlye be ouerthrowen and destroied: yet because I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thynge shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde: specially remembrynge that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which he aferde lest they should seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mēs in-

uentiõs: therfore I prailing both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper: sayinge that we would chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him more at large therin. Whiche would God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a mã singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse & graũt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia.

To the right honourable Hierome Busleyde, prouost of Arien, and counsellour to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie.

THomas More the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Busleyde) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel knowen, sent vnto me this other day the plāde of Vtopia, to very few as yet knowē, but most worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe, all people shoulde be willinge to know: specially of a man most eloquēt so finely set furth, so cunningly painted out, and so euidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somwhat more, thē whē I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke aswell as master More) vttering and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the same man, according to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainely enough appeare, to repoꝛte noe thinges, which he had learned of others onelye by heareſay, but which he had with his own eyes prefectly seene, & throughly vewed, & wherin he had no smal time bene conuersant and abiding: a man truelie, in mine opinio, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and woꝛldly experience, muche passinge, yea euen the very famous and renowmed

traueiler Ulysses: & in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij.c. yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thought to haue sene nothing. Moreouer, wheras we be wōt more effectually and pitthely to declare and expresse thinges that we haue sene, then whiche we haue but onelye heard, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discriue and set furth a matter withall. Yee the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde & consider them drawen and painted oute with master Moores pensille, I am therwith so moued, so delited, so inflamed, & so rapt, that sometime me think I am presently conuersaunt, euen in the ylande of Utopia. And I promise you, I can skante beleue that Raphael himselfe by al that fiue yeres space that he was in Utopia abiding, saw there somuch, as here in master Moores description is to be sene and perceaued. Whiche description with so manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is repleuished, that I stande in great doubt wherat first & chiefly to muse or maruelle: whether at the excellencie of his perfect and suer memorie, which could welniegh worde by woorde rehearse so manye thinges once onely heard: or elles at his singular prudēce, who so well and wittyly marked and bareaway all the originall causes and foūtaynes (to the vulgare people cōmōly most vnknowē) wherof both ysslueth

and

and springeth the mortall confusion and vtter decaye of a cõmen wealth, and also the auauncement and wealthy state of the same may rise & growe: or elles at the efficacie and pithe of his woordes, which in so fine a latin stile, with suche force of eloquence hath couched together and comprised so many and diuers matters, specially beinge a man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and troublesome cares, both publique, and priuate, as he is. Howbeit all these thinges cause you litle to maruell (righte honourable Busli) for that you are familiarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea almost diuine witte of the man. But nowe to procede to other matters, I suerly know nothing nedeful or requisite to be adioyned vnto his writinges: Onely a meter of .iiij. verses written in the Utopian tongue, whiche after master Mores departure Pythloday by chaunce shewed me, that haue I caused to be added thereto, w̃ the Alphabete of the same nation, and haue also garnished the margent of the boke with certen notes. For, as touchinge the situation of the plande, that is to saye, in what part of the worlde Utopia standeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not a litle troubleth and greueth master More, in dede Raphael left not that vnspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe woordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by ꝯ way passing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and reserue that to an other place. And the

came, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnlu-
kie chaunce escaped vs bothe. For when Raphael
was speaking therof, one of maister Mores seruau-
tes came to him, & whispered in his eare. Where-
fore I beyng thē of purpose more earnestly addicte
to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold ta-
ken, I thinke, a shippebord, coughed out so loude,
that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wor-
des. But I wil neuer stynte, nor rest, vntil I haue
gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: inso-
muche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe
you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of
the plande, but also in the iust latitude therof, that
is to say, in the sublenuatiō or height of the pole in
that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie,
and alyue. For we heare very vncerten newes of
him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney
homewarde. Some agayne affirme, that he retor-
ned into his cōtrey, but partly, for that he coulde
not away with the fashions of his countrey folk,
and partly for that his minde and affectiō was al-
together set and fired vpon Utopia, they say that
he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne.
Now as touching this, that the name of this plād
is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient
cosmographers, this doubte Hythloday himselfe
verie well dissolued. For why it is possible e-
nough (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in
olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that
they

they neuer had knowledge of this ilād: forasmuch as now in our time diuers landes be found. which to the olde Geographers were vnknowen. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seynge master More is author herof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, in deede herein I both commende, and also knowledge the mannes modestie. Howbeit vnto me it semeth a worke most vnworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abrod into ỹ hādes of mē, yea, and vnder the title of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of master More be to no mā better knowen then to you, or els because no man is more fitte and meete, then you with good counselles to further, and auaunce the commen wealth, wherin you haue many yeares already continued and trauailed with great glory and commendation, bothe of wisedome and knowledge, and also of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberall supporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time I byd you moste hartely well to fare. At Antwerpe. 1516. the first daye of Nouember.

A meter

¶ A meter of .iiij. verses in the Utopia tongue, briefely touchinge aswell the straunge beginning, as also the happie and wealthie continuance of the same common wealthe.

VTopos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan soma gymnosophaon.
Agrama gymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme paglomi.

¶ Whiche verses the translator, according to his simple knowledge, and meane understanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely englished.

My kinge and conquerour Utopus by name
A prince of much renowme & immortall fame
Hath made me an yle that earst no plaude was,
Ful fraight w̄ worldly welth w̄ pleasure & solas
I one of all other without philosophie
Haue shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte.
So better to receaue I am readie w̄ al my harte.

¶ A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Hythlodaye by his sister.

Me Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
Moyde of haunte and herbrough.
Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.
Yea like, or rather more likely
Platoes platte to excell and passe.
For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefely
In naked wordes, as in a glasse.
The same haue I performed fully,
With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely.
Wherfore not Utopie, but rather rightely
My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

¶ Gerarde Nouiomage of Utopia.

Doth pleasure please? then place the here, and well the rest,
Most pleasaunt pleasures thou shalte finde here.
Doeth profit ease? the here arriue, this yle is best.
For passinge profettes do here appeare.
Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both gaine and pleasure?
This yle is fraight with both bountcously.
To fill thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treasure
Both minde and tongue to garnishe richelie.
The hid welles & foũtaines both of vice & vertue
Thou hast them here subiect vnto thine eye.
Be thãkful now, & thankes where thankes shoe due
Geue to Thomas More Lõdõs immortal glorye.

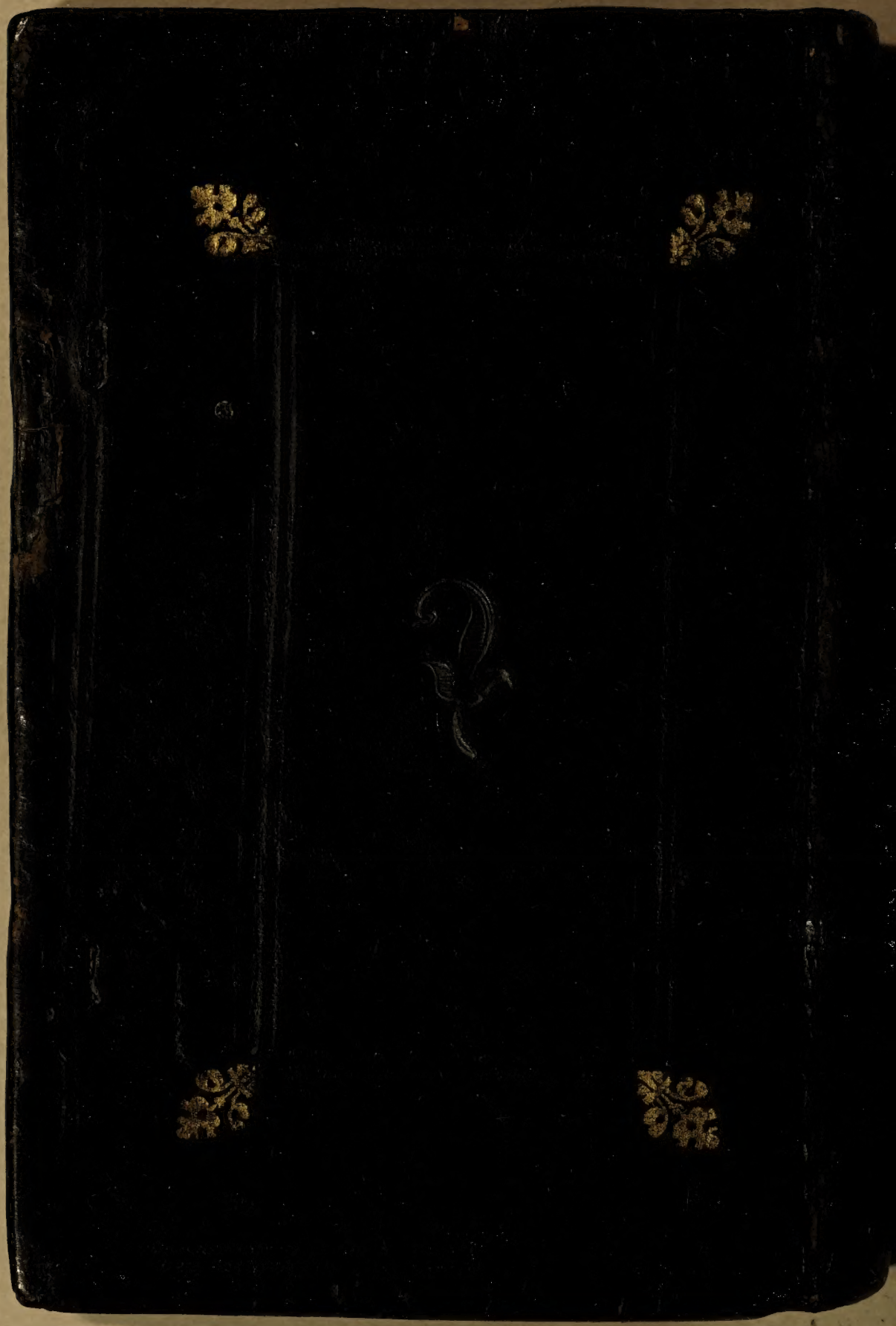
Lor-

Cornelius Graphey to the Reader.

Wilt thou knowe what wonders straung
be in the lande that late was founde?
Wilte thou learne thy life to leade,
by diuers wayes that godly be?
Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstande th
very grounde?
Wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is
of vanitie?
Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy
behouse, as thou maie best.
All thinges that in this present worke, that wor-
thie clerke sir Thomas More,
With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the world
hath plaine expresst,
In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome
and for godly loue.

The

¶ The Printer to the Reader.

The Utopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche in the aboue written Epistle is promised, herunto I haue not now adioyned, because I haue not as yet the true characters or fourmes of the Utopiane letters. And no marueill: seyng it is a tongue to vs muche straunger then the Indian, the Persian, the Syriã, the Arabicke, the Egyptian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the cipriã, the Scythiã &c. Which tõgues though they be nothing so straunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters we haue not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impression hereof, to performe that, whiche nowe I can not: that is to saye: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee, the Utopian Alphabete. In the meane time accept my good wyl. And so fare well.

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